

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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February 15, 1962

REC-23

100-25688-125

  
Brockport, New York

b6  
b7C

Dear Mrs. 

I have received your letter of February 8, 1962, with enclosure, and want to thank you for your interest in writing. I certainly appreciate your very kind remarks and am glad to know my book, "Masters of Deceit," and the pamphlet were of assistance to you.

Although I would like to be of service in response to your request, as a matter of policy, I am unable to comment on any publication not prepared by this Bureau. I am sure you can understand my position in this regard.

In view of your concern, enclosed is some literature on the menace of communism I thought might be of aid to you. I am returning the material you sent.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5)

What You Can Do To Fight Communism

4-1-61 LEB Introduction

Let's Fight Communism Sanely

The Communist Party Line

Correspondent's Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. The book, "The Un-Americans," has been reviewed in the Central Research Section. It is highly critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the

BS:brd

(3)

(Continued next page)

FEB 21 1962

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 15 12 33 PM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

FBI, "Communist Target--Youth," and the use of informants. Frank Joris Donner is a Security Index subject of the New York Office.

Correspondent enclosed a 27-page manuscript she wrote entitled "Homage to the H. U. A. C." in which she quoted liberally from "Communist Target--Youth" and "Masters of Deceit." Her quotations are accurate, and her article supports the HCUA and the FBI. She takes issue with Donner and his book.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Thursday, February 8th, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

9 Dear Mr. Hoover, The enclosed paper is self-explanatory. I wanted you to have a copy because in getting this paper together in refutation of "THE UN-AMERICANS" by Frank J. Donner, your book, "THE MASTERS OF DECEIT", and pamphlet, "COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH", were invaluable to me.

Besides, if Mr. Donner is as busy as he seemed to be at Windsor Mountain School, it might be well for you to know that a refutation of his dangerous book exists.

If some member of your staff could find time to read the enclosure to assure your office that this paper has some merit and the conclusions are valid....IF such is found to be true....could you find time from your many duties to send a note to Windsor Mountain School indicating approval of the paper?

Address: WINDSOR MOUNTAIN SCHOOL  
Heinz Bondy, Headmaster  
Lenox, Massachusetts

Despite the efforts of persons like Mr. Donner, I believe the name of J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I. carries a great deal of weight with the youth of our nation.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Address:

Brockport, New York

REC-23

100-25688-125

Act: 2-14/2  
B. J. [signature]

EX-100

FEB 10 1962

CORRECTION 8/8

ENCLOSURE

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K



A CONFIRMATION TO THE GREATER CONFIRMATION OF DONNER

From [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-06-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

The whimsey of predestination, the mystic significance of seeming coincidence have tickled my fancy many times since Sunday, November 19th, 1961.

It was curiously opportune that I should have been present at Windsor Mountain School on that particular Sunday. The customary weekly speech was to be given by Frank J. Donner, author of the current Ballentine Book, "THE UN-AMERICANS". This book is offered as: "the first fully documented account of the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities....how their abuse of power is being met by growing opposition.

The fantastic import of the coincidence is enhanced by: (1) my having a copy of "THE UN-AMERICANS" in the capacious "book-bag" in my car at the time; (2) my having been alerted little more than a year ago to the perilous extent of communist-socialist perversion of our whole society....most especially the spheres of education, communications and government; (3) my being then enroute to appointments with many special persons. Persons whom Mr. Donner, in his charitable way, would term "members of professional hate groups", whom TIME Magazine would dub "ultras", whom almost all communications media are designating currently as "extremists" and whom members of the Communist Party, itself, would call "reactionaries" or "decadent capitalists".

Whether this incident was a caprice of fate, or sheerest chance, or (horrible thought!) Mr. Donner's subject a recurring theme for Sunday speeches, I felt impelled to act. The students of Windsor Mountain School must have an equal opportunity to hear the cause of vital urgency and indispensable necessity for the existence of a House Committee to investigate and expose those engaged in Un-American Activities.

This feeling prompted a letter to Dr. Bondy, asking her assurance a speaker would be found to counteract the dismaying substance of Mr. Donner's speech. A speech devised, obviously, to evoke disrespect for constituted authority. It's only recently I've had to acknowledge there are grown persons (I won't call them mature) who actually provoke the mockery of youth against able and honored members of our government. Your delight when Mr. Donner declared open season for scorn and animosity against our national legislative body.... Representatives and Senators alike....depreciated Mr. Donner. Your delight was what he was working for. For himself, he gained shame.

When the Honorable Francis E. Walter wrote explaining his inability, and that of his staff, to speak at Windsor Mountain School, Mr. Bondy (Heinz, to you) kindly sent me a duplicated copy. He wanted me to know you'd tried. Concerned as I was, and am, that Mr. Donner's harangue should not be allowed to stand uncontested, I modestly volunteered to support the cause of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by speech or paper. Heinz, daughter Diane, son Kurt and I agreed on a paper. Thus depriving you students of what could have been a hilarious Sunday afternoon. But saving me from a fate worse than death; for, believe me, I truly am unaccustomed to public-speaking. Besides Diane is so convincing in her championship of your superior intellectual capacities, it would have caused such trepidation as to numb my tongue.

100-25688-123  
Since being alerted in this area, I've been reading, studying and taking notes frantically. Still I feel there's much, much more information I'd like as a background to work from. Three lifetimes would leave my curiosity and appetite to know unsatisfied. In the meantime, Mr. Donner's theses must be refuted before they become accepted as fact. That's why I rashly assume the responsi-

## H O M A E T O T H E U . S . A . C .

bility with what I now know. I can only hope, if I succeed in convincing any of you, you'll continue beyond my present area of knowledge and persuade yourselves that my conclusions are valid.

You need to understand the alarms which alerted me. In self justification, I like to think I wasn't totally unaware until just months ago. This has been going on, you know, since the latter decades of the last century. Now, I know this! While I recognized and deplored the trend toward collectivism, socialism and communism, I was foolishly ignorant of the deliberate and calculated purpose of many well-meaning persons. They, themselves victims of fallacious reasoning, try to force socialistic conditions on the rest of us. Through Diane's brother, Kurt, at the University of Rochester, there were eye-opening experiences. There were the shocking revelations of my first tentative probes for clarification of puzzling paradoxes. These, plus some very startling events at our own Brockport State University College, were enough to thrust me into the position which I describe to our friends as "being rampant". The position has become fixed because the more information I glean, the more I begrudge the time lost in great ignorance and inaction.

Inasmuch as I'm not what is known as a "joiner", I belong to no organization. Nevertheless, I feel myself one with all the "members of professional hate groups", all the "ultras", all the "extremists", all the "reactionaries" and all the "decadent capitalists". I'm bitterly indignant of every one of these abusive titles. One more term used to disparage them is that they're "emotional". If that's bad, let's have more emotionalism! They have the perceptive intelligence to appreciate our peril. They have the enterprising initiative to dedicate themselves to the effort of preserving our liberty. They have the enduring courage to withstand the formidable assaults of entrenched treachery. Let ME be so emotional!

Each of us is, I feel, one who is "simply that type of citizen with an average interest in public affairs who in the hour of danger (though not a minute earlier) stands up to defend his country in the same unquestioning way as he discharges his daily duties." (Described by Hannah Arendt (page 109) in her book, "THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM".) Miss Arendt must have used "unquestioning" in its connotation of being positive, certain and sure; that's the way I read it. However, semantics being of such critical import, I feel obliged to ensure mutual understanding. If you choose to read "unquestioning" as meaning blindly, without question or examination; then I hasten to assure you I've been questioning. I've queried and instructed myself from all perspectives in order to qualify and validate my earnestly considered conclusions.

Now you're somewhat acquainted with my motives. Next it becomes necessary to clear the villifying slurs and disparagement from the name and association of my most exemplary and unimpeachable source of evidence. His testimony, you'll find, is exactly contrary to that of Frank J. Donner's iniquitous offense against the House Un-American Activities Committee. His record of more than forty years with the Federal Bureau of Investigation is so impressive, I choose to believe he's in a much better position to know what he's talking about, than is Mr. Donner. I can see where Mr. Donner could have reason to distort the truth (if he's sold on Socialism as a way of government for the American people, for instance), but I haven't been able to come up with any good reason for Mr. Hoover to do so. Mr. Donner's allegations that all these men are lying, bragging, publicity-seeking, bombastic individuals was just too much for me.

One manifest proof of the treacherous scheme to diminish the effectiveness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to malign the integrity of its Director, J. Edgar Hoover, is that it becomes necessary to defend both. This defense must be presented in order to gain the proper respect, esteem and confidence in the unquestionably authentic information which comes from this source.

## H O M A G E T O T H E H. U. A. C.

The April 8th, 1961, issue of the SATURDAY EVENING POST had an editorial under the heading: "The F.B.I. Gets a High Rating Despite Some Egghead Slurs". It discussed the prevailing tendency of certain persons to look down their noses at J. Edgar Hoover. Sir Sydney Smith, emeritus professor of forensic medicine at Edinburgh University praised the F.B.I. for leading the world in forensic medicine. He credited J. Edgar Hoover with bringing it from its "backwoods" status of thirty years ago to its present foremost position. Deliberating on his visit in the United States, Sir Sydney went on to say, "Curiously, as soon as I mentioned Mr. Hoover to literary editors or book people or university people, they looked down their noses."

The editorial comment was: "There is only one sort of case that arouses the animosity of certain intellectual or near-intellectual 'liberals' against J. Edgar Hoover. A small but influential minority is angry at his success in cases involving Communists. (They didn't object when the F.B.I. helped convict the kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby, but did object when F.B.I. evidence convicted Alger Hiss.) Some of these objectors are themselves Reds or fellow travelers; but most are 'fellow defenders'. They regard any prosecution of Communists as a violation of 'civil liberties'. To them Hoover is a 'witch-hunter!'."

The editorial clinched the matter by concluding: "People who take such attitudes regard themselves as sensitive, fastidious, superior. Actually they are merely stupid".

These are my sentiments exactly, right on the button!

Incidentally, when I went to school....where have you heard that before?.... he who was dubbed "egghead" was a person devoid of good sense. By what evolutionary process has this epithet come to mean an educated, cultured and intellectual individual? Or is it possible some paradoxical quirk has pinned the term, meaning unchanged, with apt and satirical exactness on the person of our most perfidious betrayer?

One more unpaid testimonial for the F.B.I. and the Director who made it what it is today:

"The federal character of the United States....requires the maintenance of national police agencies.... World famous among these is the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States Department of Justice. This superb corps of criminal investigators possesses general investigative powers within the constitutional limits of federal jurisdiction." (All underlining is mind.) "....just as the local and state governments are characterized by overlapping police agencies, so the Federal Government maintains numerous specialized patrol and investigative agencies in addition to the F.B.I. .... To the extent that central services can aid and support basically weak police agencies, the F.B.I. has gone far toward attaining that end. It operates a national division of identification which includes the largest collection of criminal fingerprints in the world, a well-equipped crime laboratory, an excellent national police academy for local and state police administrators and instructors, and a nation-wide system of local crime statistics. The services of all such specialized agencies are available to police forces throughout the nation without charge of any kind. The F.B.I. also conducts short courses of instruction for local police at or near point of local source, thus bringing the benefits of formal police training to many small agencies which could never provide such facilities for themselves." (COLLIER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA, Volume 6, Crime Detection and Prevention; subtitle: Federal Forces, pages 106 and 107.)

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DONNER: Mr. Donner's book, "THE UN-AMERICANS", as well as his talk at Windsor Mountain School, purports to be nothing else but an attack on:-

- (1) a legally mandated committee of the United States Government (the House Un-American Activities Committee);
- (2) any elected representatives who have anything to do with that Committee;
- (3) the House of Representatives, itself....which annually must appropriate the necessary funds to continue its existence (in 1961, only seven (7) dissenting votes. Donner says "81 nays" was the highest number of votes ever mustered in opposition to the Committee (page 20)....not an impressive resistance out of a possible 435 votes.);
- (4) the United States Senate, its Investigating and Internal Security Committees;
- (5) the Federal Bureau of Investigation, world leader in forensic medicine and crime detection; and
- (6) J. Edgar Hoover, its able and honorable Director since 1924.

BLITZ: "The Party (Communist) considers the F.B.I. its prime enemy and Party members are expected to denounce the F.B.I." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT" by J. Edgar Hoover, 1958, Henry Holt and Company, New York) (Chapter 9, Why People Break With Communism)

While the Party is attacking free government, any opposition by the government is labeled "persecution," "Red baiting" or "thought control". Communists grasp every opportunity to discredit, weaken, and villify law enforcement agencies, which hamper their efforts.

Party definitions: "The law-enforcement agency....'a servant of the boss class....He is your enemy'."

"The courts: '....the workers must....recognize the capitalist court as a class enemy....as a weapon in the bosses' hands'."

"The aim should be to turn the trial into an open tribunal for the spreading and propogating of Communist ideas and aims. The class struggle goes on in the court room as well as it does on the picket line, in the shops, and in the mines."

"Every possible tactic is to be used inside the courtroom to obstruct justice." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 21, Espionage and Sabotage)

Strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, U. S. A.: Wage an all-out campaign against the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, the Senate Investigating Committee, the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

When the Party starts a mass agitation campaign, its success depends essentially on non-communist support. Members work especially to induce sympathy and support from influential non-communists.

Party members are directed to "sow seeds of discontent, weaken, divide and neutralize anti-communist opposition; above all, undermine the American judicial process."

"Whenever Communists have been able to exercise any measure of control, their first step has been to hamstring and incapacitate law enforcement." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 15, Mass Agitation)

"Law, morality, religion, are to him (the proletariat) so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests." ("THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" by Karl Marx, 1847)

COMMENT: Let's ask Mr. Donner some questions. But first: Let's accept as established fact that the United States is engaged in a Cold War with the Soviet Union. Let's accept as fact Mr. Hoover's explicit statement: "The Communist Party is a highly disciplined tool of the Soviet Union in the United States." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 5, The Party Grows Up)

Also, let's agree before hand not to be distracted by any equivocations like: The Communist Party is for integration. I, too, believe in integration. That doesn't make me a Communist.

Turn aside from the questioning of Mr. Donner for a moment, and let's examine this point. Mr. Hoover establishes definitely in Chapter 18, "Communism and Minorities", that the Communist Party craftily uses the integration question, the sympathy of most of us and the cussedness of the intolerant few for the devious purpose of causing dissension. How do I know most of us are sympathetic and the intolerant are few? There are laws to prove it! Therein, we differ from South Africa, for instance. Many people there are tolerant, but the government has made laws subjugating the negro.

The United States Government is for integration, too....as legislation proves; BUT the Communist Party is against the United States Government....and that means against us, you and me.

QUESTIONS: Mr. Donner, WHY are you working so hard to further the evil purpose of the Soviet Union?

Mr. Donner, if you are innocent of any ill-will against us, how can you be certain the forces which motivated you to this purpose weren't primed by the Communist Party?

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DONNER: (In "THE UN-AMERICANS") "Shortly after H.U.A.C. began hearings (in San Francisco), on Thursday, May 12, more than 1,000 students attended a protest rally. During the entire three days, the hearings were picketed by crowds which, at their peak on Saturday, May 14, .... had swelled to an estimated 5,000, including students, parents, professors, ministers and plain citizens. They demanded H.U.A.C.'s abolition, challenged its legality and denounced its abuses.

"While H.U.A.C. has never lacked for critics, this was by far the most vigorous expression of opposition in all of its stormy 23-year history. J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, promptly labeled the demonstration 'Communist-instigated riots', and reported that it was 'the most successful Communist coup to occur in the San Francisco area in 25 years.' H.U.A.C. moved swiftly to cover itself, screaming that the demonstrators were dupes or Communist plotters. But neither Hoover nor H.U.A.C. explained how so many thousands had been persuaded to blindly surrender their independence. Nor was any identification offered of the Red Pied Pipers who had snared these victims." (pages 1 and 2)

BLITZ: "....it is vitally important to set the record straight on the extent to which Communists were responsible for the disgraceful and riotous conditions which prevailed during the H.U.A.C. hearings. It is vitally important that not only the students involved in that incident, but also students throughout the Nation whom Communists hope to exploit in similar situations, recognize the Communist tactics which resulted in what experienced West Coast observers familiar with Communist strategy and tactics have termed the most successful Communist coup to occur in the San Francisco area in 25 years." ("COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH" by J. Edgar Hoover, July, 1960, published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 4)

At its 17th National Convention, held in New York City, December 1959, the Communist Party passed a resolution calling for intensified activity to abolish the "witch-hunting" H.U.A.C. Hearings of the H.U.A.C. were to have been held in San Francisco, June, 1959, but were cancelled because the Communists set up such a well-organized opposition. Cancellation left the organized opposition inactive but intact, ready to go into immediate action when word came to them on April 26th, 1960, of the proposed May 12th to 14th hearings. ("COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH", paraphrased from pages 4 and 5)

"The first objective of the party was to fill the scene of the hearings with demonstrators.. The second was to incite them to action through the use of mob psychology." ("COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH", page 5) And that was most precisely the course of events.

Mr. Donner's "Red Pied Pipers" identified: (If he'd only read a bit further! He quoted from Mr. Hoover's statements at the top of page 4. On confronting page 5, eighth line, Mr. Hoover starts identifying the Party members involved, their affiliations and offices. By the bottom of page 5, he has identified 4 by name, 1 by association and hundreds, maybe thousands, by organization.)

DOUGLAS WACHTER, 18-year-old sophomore at University of California, official delegate to 17th National Convention of Communist Party, December, 1959.

MICKEY LIMA, Chairman, Northern California District of Communist Party.

ROSCOE PROCTOR, District Committee member, instructed to contact certain students at the University of California to enlist their support.

SANTA ROSA JUNIOR COLLEGE students sent assurance to Lima that student support would be forthcoming.

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE students' support enthusiastically promised by the son of a current member of the SONOMA COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Party line and general plan of attack, distributed in a memorandum to all Party members, elicited quick response.

SAN JOSE CLUB members of SANTA CLARA COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY circulated petitions and published protest advertisement in San Jose newspapers.

OAKLAND COMMUNIST PARTY members arranged radio broadcasts and protest advertisement in their papers.

May 6th, 1960, meeting of PARTY LEADERS; Lima reported campus activity on all campuses....students' urging demonstrations and picket lines. Lima ordered every Party member contacted to assure massive demonstrations. He asked that plans of -

COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH GROUP in East Bay be coordinated with San Francisco groups.

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN conducted, designed to reach 1,000 people.

MERLE BRODSKY, active Party leader for 20 years, boasted he was calling everyone he'd ever known. (page 5)

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS (CCPAF) and

EAST BAY COMMUNITY FORUM (EBCF), both of these organizations distributed much literature during campaign, both are under control of Communist Party.

CCPAF used Communist Party funds to defray mailing expenses. Mickey Lima praised Executive Secretary for his role in organizing demonstrations.

FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Secretary of CCPAF, appears in film "OPERATION ABOLITION" as agitator who says he feels supremely "flattered" to be designated as a well-known "international Communist". (I had the misfortune to see Wilkinson at the University of Rochester, April 27th, 1961, brought there by Student Funds; three days before he reported to Federal prison, May 1st, 1961.)

COMMUNIST LEADERS in BERKELEY arranged transportation for students who agreed to attend hearings all three days.

May 11th, 1960, party leaders knew they had succeeded in provoking a "Reeely b-i-g show!"



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More of Mr. Donner's "Red Pied Pipers":

SAUL WACHTER, subpoenaed party member (father of Douglas) boasted the H.U.A.C. was going to encounter "plenty of opposition".

ARCHIE BROWN, former member of Party's national committee, planned with MERLE BRODSKY to stage physical outbursts during hearings so "they would be forcibly ejected and thus enabled to play on the sympathies" of the students.

May 6th, MICKEY LIMA told party members he'd met with LEIBEL BERGMAN, ANDY NEGRO and VERN BOWN "to insure that they would be hostile witnesses."

JUANITA WHEELER, subpoenaed party member, was to read a party approved document into court record when called to testify; Archie Brown disclosed.

"Nothing was overlooked (leaflets, placards, posters) even plans to cap the affair with A GRAND CLIMAX". ("COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH", pages 6 and 7)

"Immediately after the affair ended, the party's national leader, GUS HALL, congratulated the West Coast comrades for the initiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the demonstrations." ("COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH", page 9)

QUESTION: Give up, Mr. Donner?

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DONNER: "Sixty-four of the protesters....most of them students....had been arrested and charged with inciting to riot, resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. When the charges against 63 were subsequently dismissed, 58 of them issued a statement: 'Nobody incited us, nobody misguided us. We were led by our own convictions and we still stand firmly by them.' (page 2)

BLITZ: "Particularly unfortunate is the fact that many youth and student groups in our Nation today are totally unaware of the extent to which they can be victimized and exploited by Communists. The sad proof of this fact was nowhere more apparent than in municipal court in San Francisco on June 1st, 1960, when Judge Albert A. Axelrod dismissed riot charges against 62 of the persons arrested....

"The judge pointed out that there were ample grounds for conviction in the cases involving the 62 defendants, most of whom were college students, but he added that the defendants were, for the most part, 'clean-cut American college students' who could well be haunted for the rest of their lives by the stigma which a conviction would attach to them." ("COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH", page 3 (my underlining))

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DONNER: "The San Francisco violence dramatized a rapidly growing movement for H.U.A.C.'s abolition which now has the support of prominent American political and religious leaders, educators, lawyers, trade unionists and writers. The church and the campus have become centers of the abolition movement." (page 3)

BLITZ: "Mr. Speaker, throughout every section of our country there is a tremendous, and still increasing, wave of support for the energetic efforts of the (H.U.A.C.)....to expose internal subversion..

"....however, there are a number of Americans..(who)..appear to be psychologically color-blind. I speak of people who will not or can not distinguish red from white. They will not or cannot see through the deliberate deceit of our enemies. I speak of those who consistently fall for the Communist Party line, who consciously or unconsciously do the work of our enemies by parroting the Communist propaganda which deceives and confuses our citizens.

H O M A G E   T O   T H E   H . U . A . C .

"This document (a copy of Frank Wilkinson's directive to party members outlining the action to be taken against H.U.A.C. while he's in Federal prison (see above)) shows that the attacks we hear from all sides are the result of a carefully laid out plan, developed and put in operation by the Communist Party through the frontal agency (National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee) it has set up for this purpose. .... It is calculated to develop a mass propaganda to be echoed in our various communications media by misled commentators and editors, that people are being unfairly accused, that witch-hunts abound, and so forth.

"....I wish to point out that seven of the thirteen original officials of the ... (NCAUAC).. have been identified as Communists.... I place the records of these seven men in the RECORD here for the benefit of my colleagues and the American people..." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Speech of Hon. Donald C. Bruce of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, May 3rd, 1961)

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DONNER: "....it (H.U.A.C.) can claim credit for only one statute: the Internal Security Act of 1950, which was vetoed by President Truman and still has not been approved by the United States Supreme Court." (page 8)

BLITZ: Statutes of U. S. A. against the Communist Party:

SMITH ACT (1940), "prohibits any conspiracy that advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence."

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT of 1950

COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT of 1954

("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 5, The Party Grows Up)

Associated Press release to newspapers dated June 6th, 1961. (Taken from the Rochester DEMOCRAT and CHRONICLE) "The Supreme Court yesterday dealt a hard one-two punch to the American Communist Party.

"By identical 5-4 votes, the courts upheld constitutionality of:

....the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act under which the United States Communist Party has been ordered to register with the Justice Department as a tool of Moscow, list its officers and members and give an annual financial accounting.

....the 'knowing membership' clause of the 1940 Smith Anti-Communist Act. This makes it a crime to be a Communist with awareness the Party advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence."

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DONNER: "It (H.U.A.C.) has issued over 5,000 subpoenas....another record.... for it is estimated that this exceeds the subpoenas issued by all other Congressional committees combined for the same period."

BLITZ: A more realistic frame of comparison would be....not the number of subpoenas issued by other Congressional committees but....the number of persons working in this country for the avowed purpose of overthrowing our American government by violence and revolution. In 1944 membership in the Communist Party reached 80,000. "When the Communist Party was at its peak in the United States it was stronger in numbers than the Soviet Party was at the time it seized power in Russia." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 1, Who Is Your Enemy?)

William Z. Foster, then national head of Communist Party, U. S. A., boasted there were 15,000 party members in the armed services during World War II. "Major 'areas of interest' of Soviet spies in United States: No. 2, The



strength; deployment, training methods, strategy and tactics of armed forces of the United States, together with ordnance, weapons and military equipment." Besides this, the Communists find a perverted satisfaction in having Party members in the armed services. They figure training and experience gained there at "capitalist expense" will come in handy when they're ready to take over our government by violent revolt. ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 21, Espionage and Sabotage)

Compared with this information and these figures, the 5,000 subpoenas issued by the H.U.A.C. proves obvious restraint and great respect for individual liberties of United States citizens. It certainly contradicts any allegation of indiscriminate and promiscuous issuing of subpoenas.

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DONNER: "The Committee shapes the hearing so as to create the inference that the witness' entire life is the product of a subversive design." (page 81)

BLITZ: It's NOT the Committee which creates this impression. It's the truth! Communist members learn what to think, how to vote, what to say by "automatic osmosis"....the seeping of predigested thoughts into all subordinate minds, disciplined to accept. "Communist thought control, operating through Party ranks, is a terrifying spectacle, freezing into fixed rigidity the mental processes of thousands." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 10, How the Party is Organized)

"Life in the Party! For good members nothing is left for life outside the Party." "The Party is their whole life." "Party work is hard, tough work, and the Party is a ruthless taskmaster." "Communism wants the total man, hence it is totalitarian." "This complete absorption in the Party causes such fervent fanaticism, it's symptomatic of paranoiac behavior." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 11, This is the Party!)

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DONNER: "The invasion of the privacy of the witness and the restraint upon his freedom of association are just the down-payment on the full damage the Committee does to him. The hearing is intended to destroy him as a person, to violate his dignity by forcing him to confess his political 'sins', and to deprive him of his livelihood." (page 60)

"It is no mean achievement to engineer the punishment of an American for nothing more than resorting to rights protected by his Constitution." (page 61)

"The witness can escape this grilling simply by becoming friendly. ....he can indicate his willingness to cooperate." (page 82) "Informing is deeply offensive to most Americans." (page 128)

BLITZ: If I am a loyal American, enjoying the privileges and advantages of living in this country....Woodrow Wilson said, "America is the only idealistic nation in the world"....then my cooperation with a mandated committee dedicated to preserving American freedom and ideals is my fervent patriotic responsibility.

If I am a delinquent American who, for whatever reasons, has been helping conspire the overthrow of this government, then I should be grateful for the opportunity to amend the wrongs I've done by helping to expose the full extent of the treachery.

If I am an American/<sup>loyal</sup>to Russia and choose to remain loyal to Russia, then

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it's morbidly preposterous of me to expect to continue enjoying the abundant advantages of America. Any awareness of reality would remind me my life would be forfeit in any country enjoying the terror-ridden totalitarianism which my efforts would bring to America.

Seeking information is the basic purpose of any investigation. Informing in a "stool-pigeon", devious fashion for material gain; or to inform furtively for personal spite or hateful vindictiveness....these types of "informing" are repugnant to any honorable person. To inform openly and conscientiously in the best interests of our national well-being can only reflect credit and virtue on the informer.

"The F.B.I. needs the help of all loyal Americans. Citizenship carries rights and obligations. We must each do his part to preserve, protect and defend the United States against all enemies, domestic or foreign." (Paraphrased, "MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 22, What Can You Do?)

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DONNER: "The Committee....has perfected a system of collaboration with the Network of rightest organizations...." "Among the most prominent of these are: The American Legion, The Veterans of Foreign Wars, AWARE, Inc., The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, The Daughters of the American Revolution, and The Council of Christian Churches." (pages 62 and 63)

BLITZ: It's difficult to decide what Donner is attempting here. Is he trying to assail the Committee because of its fellowship with the organizations named, or to attain these proven and established organizations because of their support of the Committee? Whichever, it points a dubious finger at Donner's motives, but leaves no doubt whatsoever about either the Committee's or the organizations' being pro-American. Is Donner implying these are "American fronts"?

"A (Communist) front is an organization which the communists openly or secretly control." "In this way the Party is able to influence thousands of non-communists, collect large sums of money, and reach the minds, pens and tongues of many high-ranking and distinguished individuals.... Fronts become transmission belts between the Party and the non-communist world." "Fronts exist not in isolation but as part of a vast, interlaced front system."

Communist fronts can be "compound fronts": a national administrative front covering numerous local fronts, having or not having the same name. Examples: American League Against War and Fascism; National Negro Labor Council.

Or the Communist front can be a "continuing front", whose name can be changed abruptly for expediency, but whose format, purpose and membership remain the same. Examples: American Peace Mobilization (in 1940, against war and aid to England) became American People's Mobilization (in 1941, for war and all-out aid to Germany's enemies, after Germany invaded Russia); Young Communist League was dissolved, the very next day became Youth For Democracy, and later changed to Labor Youth League.

There are fronts formed on as short as twenty-four hours' notice for different purposes: to help "victims" of the Smith Act, to campaign for "civil rights", for specific group appeal (teachers, students, lawyers, labor, etc.).

"The danger of a Party front rests not on its physical appearance or size but on its ability to deceive." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 17, The Communist Front)

Compare the Communist front organizations with those Donner attempts to disparage above.

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DONNER: "In the course of its stupenduous, generation-long, nonstop probe, the Committee has published more than 50,000 pages of hearings and reports." (page 9)

"As our chief political-propaganda agency, the Committee operates an enormous publishing business. It has published hundreds of publications and distributed them in millions of copies....hearings, reports, indices, handbooks, pamphlets, biographical sketches, etc. It issues more publications and circulates more copies of them than all other House committees combined." (page 49)

"H.U.A.C.'s propaganda activities are sinister, unauthorized by its mandate, and, indeed, not a legislative function at all. But H.U.A.C. may thus have found a function for itself as a political hate-mill which gives it the political leverage, continuity and expanding power for which Walter hungers. In all but name, H.U.A.C. functions as our first ministry of propaganda." (page 50)

BLITZ: The urgent need for H.U.A.C. to act as publishers and distributors of vital information is brought about by the truly sinister activities of what really is a propaganda machine....the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Since its factious beginning in Chicago, Illinois, in 1919, the Communist Party, U. S. A., has had a two-generations' long, nonstop, incredible effusion of perverted and perverting propaganda. Even smallest district Party headquarters has a supply of paper, a typewriter and a mimeograph machine ("the Party's right arm"). One Party leader said, "We probably circulate more literature per member of our organization by ten times than any other organization in existence." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 4, How U. S. Communism Began; Chapter 12, Making Communist Man; Chapter 10, How the Party is Organized)

Mr. Donner's diatribe against H.U.A.C.'s issuing educative information protecting the interests of all United States citizens (even Mr. Donner) is made more paradoxical by his finding justification for anything the Communist Party does. H.U.A.C.'s loyalties are to America. The Communist Party members' loyalties are to Russia. Where are Mr. Donner's loyalties?

If, as Mr. Donner says, H.U.A.C.'s propaganda activities are "unauthorized by its mandate", then these Committee members are acting "beyond the call of duty" and deserving of more esteem for that reason.

(I can't resist the temptation to point out for your fascinated appreciation, also, that the word "sinister" literally means "left". There are, too, the terms: rightest, ultra-right, extreme rightests, etc. Literally "right" means just and true, proper, seemly and good. It's pleasing to read writings in Mr. Donner's vein, interpreting "leftist" to mean "most sinister and ominous" and "rightest" to mean "most proper and true". They make more sense that way. .... To tell the truth, I doubt my political leanings are what could be called strictly conservative; and that's what Mr. Donner means by "rightest", but to him it's a dirty word. .... Aren't words and their meanings intriguingly fun?)

Some of the very good reasons why the Committee has had to work "beyond the call of duty" to give us the truth:

"Many techniques, such as discipline, education, the Party press, recreation, literature, organizational structure, the arts, are used to fashion the 'communist man', the terror of the twentieth century"....who would place hammer and sickle over the White House, establish Soviet America as part of a world empire, with Soviet Russia as master of all....who in recent secret Party meeting said, "there has never been a revolution without force and violence, and when the time comes, we will hang and shoot those responsible for the type of government we have today." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 5, The Party Grows Up)

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"The Party must be a small, tightly controlled, deeply loyal group. Fanaticism, not members, (is)..the key. Members must live, eat, breathe, and dream revolution. They must lie, cheat, and murder if the Party (is)..to be served. Discipline must be rigid. No deviations (can)..be permitted. If an individual falters he must be ousted." They want "men willing to die because the Party (tells)..them to die." "Countless individuals simply (do)..not believe men (can)..behave so....that brutality, terror and utter meaninglessness of human dignity (can)..be a policy of state." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 2, Lenin ....and the Russian Revolution; my underlining)

Two of the "notorious twenty-one points" of admission to the Communist International, or Comintern. The Communist Party, U. S. A. is a member of the Comintern, and owes allegiance to no nation but the Soviet Union. :-

- (1) "If communists cannot carry out their work legally, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary."
- (2) "Vigorous and systematic communist propaganda must be carried on in the army. If forbidden by law, it must be pursued illegally." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 4, How U. S. Communism Began; my underlining)

Colonel Robert Abbott, head of Monroe County Civilian Defense, Rochester, New York, was a prisoner of war for three years in Korea. He can give some very graphic accounts of how effective the second point above has been. Sick with pity, he's watched young soldiers wooed to sympathy with Russia's corrupt and degenerate philosophy. Colonel Abbott says it's been all too easy because many of these boys had been almost converted before they left this country. Do you, Mr. Donner, expect any good American to submit to this indecency?

Howard Fast, once one of the Party's best propaganda writers, later one of Mr. Donner's loathed "informers", had this to say about why he joined the Party:

"I believed that in the Communist Party was the beginning of a true brotherhood of man, working with devotion for socialism, peace and democracy....I believed, as did millions of men of good will, that the only truth about the Soviet Union was the picture presented by friends of the Soviet Union. Communism with its deceitful double talk exploits these basic human yearnings for better social conditions, racial equality, justice and peace, and places them in the service of tyranny. In this way, strange as it may sound, Communists are able to entice free men to fight for slavery in the name of freedom." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 8, Why Do People Become Communists?; my underlining)

When he broke with the Party at Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's murderous regime, Howard Fast lamented:

"The dimensions of this horror were not only beyond anything we could dream of....I was filled with loathing and disgust."

Later, at the time of the Hungarian uprising, Howard Fast wrote:

"I felt a sense of unmitigated mental nausea at the realization that I had supported and defended this murderous blood-bath and I felt, as many did then, a sense of being a victim of the most incredible swindle in modern times." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 9, Why People Break With Communism)

"....the (Party's) organizational principle....has welded the Communist Party, U. S. A. into a terrible instrument poised and eager to destroy this country if given the opportunity." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 10, How the Party is Organized)

"Only the mob and the elite can be attracted by the momentum of totalitarianism itself; the masses have to be won by propaganda. Under conditions of constitutional government and freedom of opinion, totalitarian movements struggling for power can use terror to a limited extent only and share with other parties the necessity of winning adherents and of appearing plausible to a public which is not yet rigorously isolated from all other sources of information. (page 341)

"Since totalitarian movements exist in a world which itself is nontotalitarian, they are forced to resort to what we commonly regard as propaganda. (page 342)

"Propaganda is indeed part and parcel of 'psychological warfare'. .... Propaganda, in other words, is one, and possibly the most important, instrument of totalitarianism for dealing with the nontotalitarian world.... (page 344)

"People are threatened by Communist propaganda with missing the train of history, with remaining hopelessly behind their time, with spending their lives uselessly.... (page 345)

"Totalitarian propaganda raised ideological scientificity and its technique of making statements in the form of predictions to a height of efficiency of method and absurdity of content because, demagogically speaking, there is hardly a better way to avoid discussion than by releasing an argument from the control of the present and by saying that only the future can reveal its merits." ("THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM", by Hannah Arendt, furnishes the quotations above, page sources listed after each quotation; my underlinings)

"The Communist Party, U. S. A. has been and is engaged in an all-out war against American freedom. Its tactics of confusion, retreat, advance, infiltration, and hypocrisy are in full play. The attack is both legal and illegal, offensive and defensive, open and concealed. .... Above the surface a gigantic propaganda and agitation campaign is in progress, a campaign that depends for success on the support of non-communists. Basic communist strategy dictates that non-communist hands, knowingly or unknowingly, under communist guidance, must further the influence of the communist world." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 14, The Communist Trojan Horse in Action)

"The Communists, once in control, crush every opponent, while, in coming to power, they promise everything to soften the opposition. This opposition will be 'softened', however, only if we allow infiltration to take place before our very eyes without knowing it for what it is." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 16, Infiltration)

Henry A. Wallace (Vice-President of the United States, 1940-1944, under F. D. Roosevelt), in an article, "WHERE I WAS WRONG", published in "THIS WEEK" Magazine, September 7th, 1952, explains how he was hoodwinked and taken in by Russia so he "incorrectly interpreted communism and its counterpart, Russian imperialism." He said, "what I did not see was the Soviet determination to enslave the common man, morally, mentally and physically for its own imperial purposes." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 7, What Do U. S. Communists Claim?)

"The present menace of the Communist Party in the United States grows in direct ratio to the rising feeling that it is a small, dissident element and need not be feared." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 5, The Party Grows Up) (Note also Mr. Donner's numerous statements minimizing the Communist threat in America.)

COMMENT: After studying the evidence and the reliability of our sources, it's obvious our only rational judgement must be that America can't afford to be without the H.U.A.C. YES, it's deplorable to have our freedom threatened by the viciousness of communist machination. BUT, without the defense put up by the H.U.A.C., kindred committees, the Justice Department and the F.B.I., our vulnerability would make us a bunch of sitting ducks.

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Russia's monstrous contempt, and that of her minions, for the ideals which nurtured America is insufferable. We all know we've trespassed at times against our ideals; that doesn't detract from their surpassing worthiness. Just as long as we keep our ideals, just so long can we aspire to their worth.

Without ideals, Man sinks to a level below the dumb animals....for Man's not dumb. A pig in his mud-wallow is in his natural habitat; for him, it's proper. Khrushchev, the man turned pig, in the mud-wallow Marxist-Leninist doctrines have made of Russia, is a flagrant monument to corruption, degradation and filth.

It's a violation of Man's innate integrity both to tyrannize over his fellows, or to acquiesce to tyranny. The one is as evil as the other. Both are inevitable under collectivism, socialism or communism. These are reputed to be epic social remedies, sure-cures for a cursorily diagnosed chronic condition of class struggle. Here's the classic example when the cure is worse than the malady. Any one of these specifics is guaranteed to induce the virulent malignancy of class cannibalism....who's going to terrorize whom?

WAKE UP, Mr. Donner!

NEVER is when I'll be the oppressor! NEVER is when I'll be the oppressed!

SO! shall we agree the worthy members of the H.U.A.C. are deserving of our approval? Yes! .... Thanks! Thank YOU, all you H.U.A.C. Honorables!

Now, to be a bit more serious....lest you think I take this lightly:

I, confident I speak for hundreds of thousands, here acknowledge my profound obligation to the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE and its dedicated HONORABLE MEMBERS for their sustained devotion to the country we love....to YOU, and to ME!

They are the voice of America's tomorrow. Without them, do we have a tomorrow?

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DONNER: Quotations from "THE UN-AMERICANS" in reference to Fascism and Nazism: "Fascist-oriented refugees" (page 23); "Edward F. Sullivan, a publicity specialist for native Fascist groups" (page 26); "Joseph P. Kamp, a professional hate merchant who was editor and publisher of a Fascist magazine, 'The Awakener'"; "Father Charles E. Coughlin, Fascist Priest, leader of the Christian Front"; "Father Coughlin disseminated quantities of Nazi propaganda."; "Paid Nazi agents were enthusiastic about H.U.A.C. and its work." (page 26); "(Billie James) Hargis is a type of cryptofascist radio evangelist." (page 257)

BLITZ: First we must set the record straight on Donner's assertion that the H.U.A.C. has conducted "a 23-year-old marathon investigation into a single subject....Communism and subversion...." (page 9) When the H.U.A.C. was originally mandated, its area of investigation was the activities and influence of the German-American Bunds. "Largely through Dies' efforts, the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities was created in May 1938. As its chairman, Dies was generally praised for the investigation of the Nazi bunds and camps in 1938." (COLLIER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA, Volume 6, under Martin Dies, page 453)

Mr. Donner is evidently a victim of the fallacious fantasy now extant which contends Fascism is the opposite extreme from socialism or communism. The following evidence to the contrary should be adequate to set up a question in your minds: Are Fascism and Communism two extremes, or is this contention an equivocation designed to confuse?



"....Where did Hitler get his ideas? ....he had somehow absorbed....a wierd mixture of the irresponsible, megalomaniacal ideas which erupted from German thinkers during the nineteenth century. They emanate from that odd assortment of erudite but unbalanced philosophers, historians and teachers who captured the German mind....with consequences so disastrous....not only for Germans but for a large portion of mankind: Fichte and Hegel; Treitschke, Neitzsche, etc." Hegel's "is the subtle and penetrating mind whose dialectics inspired Marx and Lenin and thus contributed to the founding of Communism and whose ringing glorification of the State as supreme in human life paved the way for the Second and Third Reichs of Bismarck and Hitler." ("THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH", by William L. Shirer, 1960, Simon and Schuster, New York, Chapter 4, The Intellectual Roots of the Third Reich)

"The ideologies which united Italy under Mussolini, Germany under Hitler.... Spain under Franco....all agree in one aspect: they advocate the totalitarian state and glorify dictatorship." (COLLIER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA, Volume 16, Political Science and Philosophy, page 178)

"Fascism and Nazism always boasted that their hatred was directed not against individual classes, but the class system as such, which they denounced as an invention of Marxism. Even more significant was the fact that the Communists also, notwithstanding their Marxist ideology, had to abandon the rigidity of their class appeal when, after 1935, under the pretext of enlarging their mass base, they formed Popular Fronts everywhere and began to appeal to the same growing masses outside all class strata which up to then had been the natural prey to Fascist movements."...."Up to now we know only two authentic forms of totalitarian domination: the dictatorship of National Socialism after 1938, and the dictatorship of Bolshevism since 1930." ("THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM", pages 262 and 419)

"....the impression is generally held that it is very respectable to be a Fabian socialist such as Ramsay MacDonald, or to be a follower of Keynes, or a 'liberal' (in the modern sense of the word) such as A. A. Berle (H'13); whereas it is not respectable to be a Communist such as Earl Browder or Khrushchev, or a Nazi like Hitler, or a Fascist like Mussolini. .. Actually all these people are striving toward the same end....concentration of power in the hands of a few." (page 2, see below)

"There is a difference between the Fabians on one extreme and the Communists and Fascists on the other....merely a difference in methods. The Fabians believe in 'easing' into absolute power by deceit. The Communists and Fascists believe in attaining power by violence. The ends are the same since absolute power can only be maintained by violent repression." ("KEYNES AT HARVARD", 1960, Staff Study by VERITAS FOUNDATION, page 3)

"Germany is the stronghold of Marxism. Edward Bernstein, exiled by Bismarck to London, intimately associated with Fabians, returned to Germany, published a volume criticising Marxism (published in England, 1909, as "Evolutionary Socialism") from thence grew Revisionist movement for free thought in Socialism, which obtained control of Social Democratic Party." (paraphrased from "THE HISTORY OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY" by Edward R. Pease, 1916, revised 1925, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, Chapter XII, The Lessons of Thirty Years)

COMMENT: Totalitarianism is a way of government. How that condition is achieved is of little importance. Communism, Fascism, Nazism, Socialism, Fabianism, Collectivism, Keynesism....each or any one would bring us to a terroristic totalitarianism. It's like entering a snake-pit via different chutes. You're not apt to quibble about the means of entry, once you're in the horror of the pit.

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DONNER: Charging the H.U.A.C. with antisemitism is apparently one of Mr. Donner's pet condemnations against the Committee, resorting to this strategem of censure as he does throughout his book. This is an age-worn contrivance to incite mob violence. His impeachment of the Committee for arousing hate is designed in obvious equivocal pattern to aggravate instead, hate against the Committee. There can be no other reason for the continuous references to racial prejudice, antisemitism, xenophobia, religious intolerance and class consciousness.

To fashion a self-recoiling boom-harangue (you can't believe that unintended) quoting from Donner, himself: "He slanders, lies, exaggerates, evades and forges to keep alive the particular terror on which his particular group feeds. The successful merchant of hate develops a special fear-breeding vocabulary which oozes contempt and aggression. He is a master of propaganda....the more lurid the better." (page 25) He said it, I didn't.

BLITZ: This quotation is so apt a criticism of Donner's own methods, it's positively uncanny. Who's the object of his delusion....himself or his readers?

In America an accusation of antisemitism is a device almost as deadly as was Hitler's use of "Death to the Jews!" in Germany. This is in line with the Communist tactic to "divide and conquer". Communist "mass agitation" is contrived to exploit all the grievances, hopes, aspirations, prejudices, fears and ideals of all the special groups that make up our society, social, religious, economic, racial, political. Set one against the other. That's the way to soften up a democracy." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 15, Mass Agitation)

Some of the most effective opposition to Communism in the United States comes from Jewish organizations....B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish League Against Communism, etc. The last-named is proud "it was the first American organization to expose and document the communist anti-Jewish policies." "Soviet tolerance toward Jews was never anything but a temporary political tactic." Philip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith said, only in Soviet Russia and its satellites is "Jewish life languishing and approaching extinction." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 19, The Communist Attack on Judaism)

The Communist Party (a Comintern resolution) "promises" the Negroes to confiscate a "Black Belt" in the South, varying from most of twelve states in 1948 to a lesser portion of five states in 1952, where they may set up their own government separate from the United States, if they desire. Despite these grandiose promises, the vast majority of Negroes reject communism because they recognize they're being exploited by the communists' "concentrating on their most helpless, and whom they think to be, their most gullible victim, the Negro."

Communists have tried to infiltrate the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and have at times succeeded, but constant vigilance of the Association's officers has kept them from control. The Party isn't truly interested in the welfare of the Negro, but uses him only as a tool to recruit other Negroes.

George S. Schuyler, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, reflected the opinion of American Negroes: "The record shows that where and when the Communists seemed to be fighting for Negro rights, their object was simply to strengthen the hand of Russia." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 18, Communism and Minorities)

So, if I may be so bold as to speak for the H.U.A.C. (I do try) and so rash as to associate Mr. Donner with the Communist Party, which gains most from his denunciation of the H.U.A.C., I say, "All them things you sez I is, you is."



## H O M A G E   T O   T H E   H . U . A . C .

This big, bully, see, a power addict, picks up "a battleaxe with great big knobs on" (like Sir Brian's) and blips a poor appropriate innocent on the head....then runs screaming (Gadzooks! a use for one of Mr. Donner's favorite words) and squalling, "He hit me! He hit me!"

You don't think, do you, that this big bully won't get help from the "good Samaritans" who misunderstand the true circumstances? Their compassionate support will be motivated by the most admirable sentiments, yes. But that won't alter the fact that every modicum of effort expended will be to the advantage of evil purpose....the bully's.

Shifting his guilt to the innocent provides the bully with multiple benefits:

- (1) The bully's position is made more secure.
- (2) The position of the innocent is made precarious.
- (3) Pride in accomplishment of the "good Samaritans" obliges their esteem for the bully.
- (4) From the vantage point of his new, more secure position, the bully's able to launch more brutal deprecations.
- (5) The precariousness of the exploited innocent leaves him wide-open to be patsy, or fall-guy, for the bully's further sadistic atrocities.
- (6) Self-justification prohibits the "good Samaritans" from ascertaining the foulness of the bully.
- (7) The pattern's set. The bully can do no wrong. The innocent can do no right. The "good Samaritans" are for the bully and against the innocent, forever!

Sounds logical, doesn't it? But, bigosh, I don't believe it! Like Nellie Forbush in "SOUTH PACIFIC", I'm a "cock-eyed optimist", with resolute faith in the intrinsic virtue of Man.

You can take all of Marx's zymotic "materialism" and stuff it into everyone you know, you'll end up with a collection of hollow people. Naturally, the presence of anyone on this Earth, in this Century, presupposes an inherent respect for materialistic acquisition. Those who didn't develop this characteristic are long since dead....starvation, exposure, as a saber-toothed tiger dinner; for lack of acquiring food, for lack of acquiring clothing and shelter, for lack of acquiring protective weapons.

Moral integrity sprouted in Man along with wondering, questioning and looking about him with an eye to improve his environment. The prime requisite of Man's whole evolution is the ideals he's formulated. An ideal is a mental visualization of possible improvement. Without ideals there can be no improvement. Before progress or improvement in any area you can conceive, the ideals come first.

Ideals are fundamental to:

- ....wonder and curiosity, which has brought knowledge;
  - ....imagination, which has developed intellect;
  - ....creativity, which has wrought miracles;
  - ....initiative, which is the stimulus to action;
  - ....integrity, which is mutual respect, Man for Man;
  - ....society, which is Man's most rewarding association.
- (IF it's a diversified group of self-determining individuals.)

Let's allow your "hollow people" a few of their ideals, only a few will make them replete. Ideals are filling. Whether or not they live up to them, if our people try, or if they muse wistfully over their ideals; then materialism can't corrupt them....forever. If the ideals exist, the reality will follow....given time, and an environment which nurtures ideals.

It's plainly obvious, the big bully is Soviet Russia's greedy lust for the whole world and her conscious allies to that end, the Communist Party, U.S.A. Candor of purpose distinguishes this as our bully's more wholesome side.

Less obvious, more dastardly, more dangerous is the hidden side of our bully. The "liberal" socialists, the Fabians, the Keynesians, egg the Russians on with the multifarious means at their command; stopping at nothing, short of their own exposure. A plea of ideological idiocy will be their only possible defense if they're ever made to account for their insidious offences against Man's freedom and progress. Meanwhile, they maintain their "fastidiousness" by outraged repudiation of their guilty involvement.

The identity of our innocent is, of course, the H.U.A.C. The Committee's efforts to protect our freedom from the degradations of the communists have frustrated the communists' efforts to destroy our freedom. Naturally, this is an offence by the Committee against the communists, so the Committee must be annihilated. Abolition of the Committee at the instigation of the communists would serve as a warning and a rebuke to others who might have the temerity to question the communists' license, their "civil right", to overthrow our government and quench our freedom.

The "good Samaritans" are notable for their subjective compassion and their objective blindness. It takes great courage, once the blinders drop, to admit having been duped. Some won't, but will proceed on their set course in dogged effort to vindicate their actions. But these "good Samaritans" are many of our finest people. They're filled with ideals, love for their fellows, the will to improve. Once they tumble to the truth that their fine aspirations have been debased to lure all mankind into a net of terror, their anger will make them strong.

My optimistic faith in the integrity of Man fosters my belief that the "good Samaritans" are going to see the truth, and soon. Further proof of my "cock-eyed" optimism is my reliance on at least some of those sophists who make up the less wholesome side of our bully.

Certainly, it's about time the "intellectuals" (if, or when, they wake up to the need for a wiser approach to social ills, those derisive quotes will go) re-examined their basic premises and discover "dialectic materialism, "class struggle", "surplus value", "centralized government", "the welfare state", "mob psychology", "manipulation of the masses", "war is a state of being", "economy by government subsidy", collectivism and conformity are but ugly, defeatist and prohibitive postponements of Man's fulfillment.

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DONNER: "Only a corporal's guard out of the large number of public-school and university teachers who were unfriendly witnesses have survived exposure." (page 62)

"A teacher of teen-agers or tots....it does not matter....is merely a 'brain-washer' in pedagogical disguise." (page 82)

"They (Committee members)..pack board of education meetings called to discuss the fate of the teachers who were unfriendly witnesses...." (page 125)

"The hearings resound with protests of American teachers, writers, artists and actors against the Committee's efforts to make them inform." (page 125)

"In 1953, the Committee subpoenaed a group of Philadelphia teachers." (page 134)

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"In the wake of the Cvetic revelations, there was a wave of firings of school teachers on every level of the school system. A former Pittsburgher who had worked as a librarian at Cornell University was promptly fired when he was named by Cvetic." (page 144)

"....the petitions of hundreds of university faculty members to the same effect (abolition of H.U.A.C.)...." (page 162)

"....in the early part of June, 1959, H.U.A.C.....subpoenaed 110 teachers from Northern California and the Los Angeles area for hearings to be held later that month." (page 190)

"Early in May (1960) H.U.A.C. issued 48 subpoenas....a number (of which).... were for teachers...." (page 197)

"In order to force the discharge of more teachers, Arens developed the thesis of subversive nonmembership in the party." (pages 199 and 200)

"This affair begins in 1955, when H.U.A.C. held hearings in Newark over which Chairman Walter presided, resulting in a move to oust three teachers who had pleaded the Fifth Amendment." (page 282)

"The summary of the Committee's Philadelphia hearings consists of a list of 19 unfriendly teachers...." (page 289)

"In 1941, the Dies Committee made a blanket recommendation that financial support be withheld from schools which permitted members of the faculty to advocate Communism, Fascism or Nazism." (page 291) (NOTE: Here is Donner's own refutation of his absurd charge in Chapter 3 that the Committee is pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi.)

BLITZ: "The problem that perplexes many people is the overwhelming appeal that communism apparently exercises for the student mind. The nature of that appeal is a promise that the student can achieve two things by association with the Communist Party. He can participate in the conquest of the world and, following conquest of the world, he can then participate in a program to change human nature, perfect human character, and populate the entire earth with a new quality of personality infinitely superior to any that history has ever known. The appeal that attracts the young student is almost a religious appeal that his life can be utilized for the regeneration of all mankind.

"....the reason (for the evil Communistic ideology sweeping across the world) is their recruitment of the student intellectual, who is susceptible to the appeals of communism by reason of his educational conditioning. --- He is recruited in terms of his ideological pride. --- He is one of the elite, the chosen, and the intellectual aristocracy.

"Communism illustrates the truth that the disciplined, dedicated, scientific, intelligent, and organized few will be able to exploit and direct, deceive, and conquer the selfish, undisciplined, disorganized multitudes. Communism is advancing in terms of its recruitment of students, the organization of these students into the Communist Party and the scientific exploitation of group needs, grievances and ambitions to advance their party to power. The goal of communism is conquest, not conversion. They convert a few and conquer the many.

"The Communists have never been able to make progress until they have been able to get these student intellectuals to be their standard bearers. This poses a problem both within and without the country. Within the country the educational system, the legislative system, the family, the religion, and all

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cultural influences should be so tuned that they build a mind and a character with an understanding of the American heritage and moral values; a confidence in your constitutional system, your government by law, your economic systems of free competitive enterprise.

"This is the paradox. Here are our very precious, cherished liberties that did not come about by accident, that are the envy and admiration of the rest of the world; here is a group of people, the Communists, openly dedicated to their total destruction and yet these Communists are able to take advantage of these very liberties and to hide behind these liberties for their purposes of destruction and to recruit as their 'runners of interference' well meaning American citizens.

"I believe that communism should be taught in the educational system, but I believe it should be taught with a moral directive, in the same way that a medical student is taught that cancer is evil, that tuberculosis is evil and education about them is directed to their elimination and defeat. I think the teaching of communism without a moral directive can be very dangerous.

"I believe there is a great problem before the American people: to provide education with a moral dynamic that reveals communism as a rationale of murder and lying and the destruction of freedom. It is totally immoral, and mental and emotional barriers against it should be erected in the minds of the young.

"One hole can sink the ship. Communism is the theory of the disciplined few controlling and directing the rest. One person in a sensitive position can control, manipulate, and if necessary, destroy thousands of others." (From the testimony of Dr. Frederick Charles Schwarz, Executive Director, Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, in a Staff Consultation with the United States House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, Wednesday, May 29th, 1957) (distributed by the Allen-Bradley Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, "to sell you....the importance of holding fast to your American freedoms....")

"In particular the communists have made an appeal to the so-called intellectual. The seduction of many intellectuals over the years by the Party stands as a disgrace. Thinking men and women, trained to analyze critically, all too often have been duped. .... Members joining the party for idealistic reasons are more likely to stay in the movement than those not so motivated." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 8, Why Do People Become Communists?)

"These people who think, the intellectuals if you please, are the ones who can and must convince men that communism is evil." ("MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 22, What Can You Do?; quoting Don Whitehead from his "THE F.B.I. STORY")

"In spite of Fabian socialists' claims that they are non-communist, they have been performing a yeoman service for the Kremlin throughout the years. Indoc-trination of undergraduates in socialism usually proceeded in three phases. First, the socialist lecturers conditioned the young minds to hate capitalism as an outmoded and cruel system; the second phase was to despise and distrust individual capitalists as exploiters and reactionaries who oppose social improvements; and thirdly the fledgling radical is hooked by clever 'scientific examples' and formulae which prove to him that the present social order is predestined to collapse and socialism is foreordained to take its place." ("KEYNES AT HARVARD", page 13)

"Without understanding the political climate and function of the Fabian socialist camp a true evaluation of the communist conspiracy is not possible. Fabian socialism and communism embrace each other, feed on each other and sometimes engage in a family fight." ("KEYNES AT HARVARD", page 85)

(All underlining is mine.)

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"In all fairness to those among the elite,....who at one time or another have let themselves be seduced by totalitarian movements,....it must be stated that what these desperate men of the twentieth century did or did not do had no influence on totalitarianism whatsoever, although it did play some part in earlier, successful, attempts of the movements to force the outside world to take their doctrines seriously. Wherever totalitarian movements seized power, this whole group of sympathizers was shaken off even before the regimes proceeded toward their greatest crimes. Intellectual, spiritual, and artistic initiative is as dangerous to totalitarianism as the gangster initiative of the mob, and both are more dangerous than mere political opposition. The consistent persecution of every higher form of intellectual activity by the new mass leaders springs from more than their natural resentment against everything they cannot understand. Total domination does not allow for free initiative in any field of life, for any activity that is not entirely predictable. Totalitarianism in power invariably replaces all first-rate talents, regardless of their sympathies, with those crackpots and fools whose lack of intelligence and creativity is still the best guarantee of their loyalty." ("THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM", page 339) (My note to you: PLEASE acquaint yourselves with the historical proofs for this statement of totalitarian policy and practice.)

"Curiously, the Fabian-Keynesian technique influenced the Communists to such an extent that some of the top Communist Party leadership wanted to accept the Fabian form completely. --- Earl Browder, along with many others, was expelled for violating Kremlin discipline. --- Browder and other Communists realized that they could secure political power by adopting the stealthy methods of the Fabians. The Fabians had proved what could be done under the guise of an 'educational institution'. --- The Keynesians and the Communists remain blood-brothers to the end." ("KEYNES AT HARVARD", page 85)

"It is obvious that without the Socialist-Keynesian-Fabian mass to hide in, and to recruit from, the international communist machine, outside of the iron curtain, would collapse. Socialism has always given communist forces the sanctuary and intellectual climate to keep them in operation. While it is an error to call all socialist manifestations communist, it is nonetheless true that the basic terrain for communist depredations are furnished by the interlocking Keynesian-Socialist amalgam." ("KEYNES AT HARVARD", page 106)

"But Wolf Meynert was an intellectual. Have you ever seen anything so dreadful, murderous, and nonsensical that an intellectual wouldn't want to save the world with it?" ("WAR WITH THE NEWTS", by Karel Capek, 1937, A Bantam Giant, Bantam Books, New York 36, N. Y.)

"Some might think....though I don't....that nine years ago there was some excuse for men not to see the direction in which the world was going. Today, the evidence is so blatant that no excuse can be claimed by anyone any longer. Those who refuse to see it now are neither blind nor innocent." .... "Those who want slavery should have the grace to name it by its proper name.. They must face the full meaning of that which they are advocating or condoning; the full, exact, specific meaning of collectivism, of its logical implications, of the principles upon which it is based, and of the ultimate consequences to which these principles will lead. --- They must face it, then decide whether this is what they want or not." (Author's Foreword to "ANTHEM", by Ayn Rand, 1946, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1961, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., New York 22, New York)

COMMENT; Aren't today's educators running a frightful risk, considering what happened to Socrates 2,361 years ago? He was condemned to death for corrupting the youth of the city of Athens. His crime was the antithesis of the crime of today's teachers. The dialectics of Socrates were to expand awareness and discover new truths. Today's dialectics define and limit awareness, ignore known truths.

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RECKONING: "Much malice mingled with a little wit" I borrow from John Dryden to render a thumb-nail criticism of Frank J. Donner's "THE UN-AMERICANS".

Some premises so generally known we may accept them as fact:

- (1) The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are the two most powerful nations in the world today.
- (2) The United States and the Soviet Union differ ideologically in governmental, political, economical and ethical standards.
  - (a) The United States has a representative form of democratic government based on a two-party system; with self-determination and personal liberty; private enterprise in a capitalistic economy; profound belief in: the sanctity of the individual, the nobility of man, unfettered creativity, the value of human life and the basic necessity for ideals to give dignity and meaning to being.
  - (b) The Soviet Union has a socialist-communist form of government, in which the State is supreme, a totalitarian one-party system, a socialistic economy (ostensibly, anyway); profound belief in: complete subjugation of the individual to the will of the State, the materialistic being of man, the concept of man as but another evolutionary animal, no creativity outside of State control, the worthlessness of human life and a gross contempt for any ideals.
- (3) The United States and the Soviet Union are mortally engaged in what is known as a Cold War. Lenin wrote, "As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph....a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."<sup>1</sup>
- (4) A Cold War is one without the heat of military battle, but one no less crucial...a combined logomachy-ideomachy, a war with words and ideas.

If the United States and the Soviet Union are engaged in a Cold War wherein the ammunition is words and ideologies; then any words designed and used, with the intent of changing the ideologies of the United States to correspond to the ideologies of the Soviet Union, are traitorous to "the people of the United States".

Mr. Donner doesn't so much deny that this has been the practice of persons within certain areas in the United States as he denies the government's right to restrain this propagation. He minimizes the danger of socialistic indoctrination and scoffs at those who fear its debasing influence....from a better appreciation of its potentialities than Mr. Donner seems to have.

Our biggest danger is from the Fabian-Keynesian Socialists rather than the Communists. The Communists have gained security and position from the diversionary tactics of the Fabians. The Fabians' best defense has been their devious, deceitful and insidious methods, plus the tendency to label them Communists....which they are not. They owe no allegiance to Russia, their only allegiance is to their own sophisticated brand of socialism.

The Fabian-Keynesian Socialism is very simple. Its original premise is its most fallacious: Mankind consists of two classes....a very few superlatively smart people; a multitude of stupid dolts. The superior ones should be trained as elite manipulators of the inferior ones, who must be trained to submission.

The peril of Fabian-Keynesian Socialism can be measured by the general public's ignorance of its existence. "Secret guilt by silence is betrayed", John Dryden, again. Hannah Arendt: "Real power begins where secrecy begins."<sup>2</sup>

1. Quoted in "MASTERS OF DECEIT", Chapter 21, Espionage and Sabotage.  
 2. "THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM", page 403.



The real concern of persons who are working against socialist-communist infiltration extends beyond the borders of America. With two dominating countries in the world, one of which has succumbed already to the destructiveness of socialistic doctrines; it is fatally essential that the other one should be kept free in democracy. If we find this impossible, the world is doomed.

"Unless we choose to decentralize and to use applied science, not as the end to which human beings are to be made the means, but as the means to producing a race of free individuals, we have only two alternatives to choose from: either a number of national, militarized totalitarianisms, having as their root the terror of the atomic bomb and as their consequence the destruction of civilization....; or else one supra-national totalitarianism.... You pay your money and you take your choice."<sup>1</sup>

"....the criterion of growth is progress towards self-determination; and progress towards self-determination is a prosaic formula for describing the miracle by which Life enters into its Kingdom."<sup>2</sup>

To say the whole world is doomed, if both the two leader nations turn to socialism is no trivial prediction of a spiteful alarmist. The only climate in which socialism can exist is one of totalitarianism. Marx and Lenin would have the controls in a Supreme State. The perfidious Fabian-Keynesists would have the controls in the hands of a small, but elite, group of intellectual "manipulators of men; which then, of course, would assume the duties of State.

America is notable for so many "firsts", it's beyond the realm of understanding why every school child isn't glib in enumerating them:

(1) America was the first, and to date the only, nation whose population is an aggregate of stubborn will, against incredible hardships, toward the ideal of self-determination. People didn't flee from one oppression only. It was a spontaneous movement from many oppressions toward a destination promising the individual an opportunity to shape his own life into the pattern of his dream. Once word of America spread, brave men and women everywhere concentrated their efforts to the purpose of getting here. This opportunity was unique!

Wherein does the settlement of the United States differ from that of Mexico, Central America, South America or Canada? Colonization of those areas was going on at the same time. Settlers in Spanish-speaking countries brought with them two oppressions, Church and State; even the long arm of the Spanish Inquisition reached into the new world. The development of Brazil was helped forward by Portugal's less oppressive demands on its colony. No-where has the liberty of self-determination been given its head but in the United States, after severing relations with England.

(2) America was the first, and to date the only, nation to grant its peoples the unlimited opportunity of a capitalistic economy, with the bright aspirations of private enterprise to motivate and guide it. Here capitalism was given its most scrupulous test, free of any ragtag remnants of former economies. Here it proved itself as the most stimulating and enduring of all economies. Here capitalism demonstrated its dynamic potential by providing the climate where imagination, creativity and initiative flourished unrestrained.

Many of the faults Marx ascribed to capitalism were not inborn in that economy, but were relics of feudalistic attitudes. He had to think fast to explain the apparent success of capitalism in America, so he attributed it to geographical expansion.

1. Aldous Huxley in his foreword to "BRAVE NEW WORLD", 1958, Bantam Classic.
2. Arnold J. Toynbee in "A STUDY OF HISTORY" (Abridgement by D. C. Somervell), 1946, Oxford University Press, New York & London, page 208.

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(3) America was the first, and to date the only, nation in the world to eliminate class distinctions. The enrichment of everyone by capitalism was quietly and decisively proving the falseness of Marx's contradictory theories even as he was concocting them. Marx said capitalism would shove one class down as it shoved another class up. Reason, alone, should point out the fallacy in this logic, but American capitalism provided the factual evidence. Anyone in America may work to his own level. You can be president of a corporation or handle a shovel....it's your choice. There are no arbitrary barriers!

The Negroes, or other minorities, are the only possible exception. Let me point out again that our laws (the "expressed commands" of most of us) support the Negroes, and other minorities, in this respect. The obstinate, intolerant few are the snag. The American ideal has been formulated, time will bring full realization.

(4) America was the first, and to date the only, nation in the world (the West European Common Market and the amazing results achieved in participating countries by switching to a capitalistic economy is promising) where the standard of living has been raised to a height of luxury unknown one hundred years ago.

Workers' owning their homes (over 60% of American families do!), playing the stock market, forming their own corporations propounds a puzzle of who is working for whom. It would be impossible to separate the bourgeoisie from the proletariat....in America they don't actually exist.

(5) America is the first, and to date the only, powerful and influential nation in the world who has chosen to adopt a non-imperialistic policy.

There are arguments against this, and I've heard them. I ask you to think! What do you know of the imperialistic policies of Germany, England, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal and that most imperialistic of all nations in history, Russia? America's integrity has prohibited her preying on others. And what nation do you know besides America who has purchased the land they wanted?....the Louisiana Purchase from France, Alaska from Russia.

Hannah Arendt says a totalitarian movement must keep on the move, its very nature abhors a static condition. History bears her out: Italy under the Fascists;...Ethiopia; Germany under the Nazis....aiming for the world; Russia under Communism....aiming for the world and already having achieved one-fourth the area and more than one-third the population. It makes one wonder what would happen if the world ever were achieved by a totalitarian movement, which cannot remain static. Chaos?

You're surely questioning my purpose in bringing your attention to these notable American "firsts", in order to refute Donner's speech and book. If you aren't, you should be. I want you to read this with all your perceptions sharpened to their fullest keenness.

My purpose is to point out to you that America was the most ideal government the world has ever known. Despite the many inequities and faults present in her capitalistic-democratic government, there was so much that was good, America's probabilities of amending the faults and progressing further on her chosen path were excellent.

Then some dastardly red-billed European cuckoos....Marx of Germany; Lenin of Russia; Fabians of England....laid their zymotic eggs in the American nest. The birds hatched from those eggs have pestered as persistently as woodpeckers in devaluating, degrading and depreciating the best that was America.



In this way only can [redacted] be known to you the full measure of my resentful indignation at this perfidious betrayal of the excellence of America to the base inferiority of any socialistic ideology.

Mr. Donner would have us do away with what few defenses we have against the socialistic cuckoos. The reason our defenses are few is: We refuse to compromise our principles of freedom by making arbitrary laws which would restrict freedom, and which would be a triumph for our enemies. For all Mr. Donner's accusations to the contrary, the H.U.A.C. is a legally mandated committee, and all its acts have been conducted in accord with the Laws of the United States of America.

The provocation to resort to practices which were less than legal, considering the lack of scruples of its enemies, must have been many times almost overwhelming. The respect and esteem due the members of the H.U.A.C., because they have restrained themselves to legality, is greater because of the provocation.

Karel Capek wrote a masterpiece on Nazis and Communists, whom he identified as "Newts" ("WAR WITH THE NEWTS"), in which he said: "There is no doubt that the Newt world will be happier than that of men, it will be uniform, consistent and permeated with the same spirit. One Newt will not differ from another Newt in language, views or life's necessities. There will not exist among them cultural or class differences, but only divisions of labor. Nobody will be a master or a slave, for they all will serve one Big Newt Entity, which will be their god, ruler, employer and spiritual leader. There will be only one nation and one class. It will be a better and more perfect world than ours. It will be the only possible Happy New World. Well then, let us make space for it; there is nothing now that languishing mankind can accomplish but accelerate its end ....in tragic beauty while there is still time.

"We reproduce above the views of Wolf Meynert in a form as popular as possible; in doing so we are conscious of the fact that they lose much of their effectiveness and depth by which in their time they fascinated the whole of Europe, and especially the young, who received with enthusiasm the faith in the decadence and coming end of mankind. ..the whole cultured world received Meynert's theory of the decline of mankind with satisfaction...." (pages 193 and 194)

"Please tell me how I can not be sorry for mankind! But I was most sorry when I saw how of its own will and at all costs it rushed to its ruin. At the sight of it you would shout. You would scream and throw up both your arms if you saw a train run on the wrong track. It's too late to stop it now. The Newts will go on multiplying, and more and more they will break down the old continents. Only remember how Wolf Meynert argued: that man must make space for the Newts; and only then will the Salamanders create a happy, united and homogeneous world.'....'But Wolf Meynert was an intellectual. Have you ever seen anything so dreadful, murderous, and nonsensical that an intellectual wouldn't want to save the world with it?'" (page 229)

Egon Hostovsky in his Note on the Author, Karel Capek, states Capek had studied philosophy in Prague, Berlin and Paris. His work was characterized by warning against modern "scientific barbarism" (Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini) as a destructive force; and pointing out the constructive way to survival by man's building a better world with faith and love....ideals.

Karel Capek died December 25th, 1938, "after the Munich pact, when his country had been dismembered and when precisely those forces of barbarism against which he had written and warned all of his life were reaching toward the very heart of their victim. He died of no specific ailment. Grief killed him: there was no one left to warn."....Karel Capek, forty-eight, was a Czechoslovakian.

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- "COMMUNIST TARGET---YOUTH" by J. Edgar Hoover, 1961, published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
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- "WAR WITH THE NEWS" by Karel Capek, 1937, Translated by M. & R. Weatherall, Note on the Author by Egon Hostovsky, G. P. Putnam's Sons; 1955, Bantam Books, New York.
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- "BRAVE NEW WORLD" by Aldous Huxley, 1932, Harper and Brothers, New York; 1958, Bantam Books, New York. (The Foreword from which I quoted seems to have been written some twenty years hence from original publication.)
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- "ATLAS SHRUGGED" by Ayn Rand, 1957, Random House, Inc., New York; 1959, A Signet Book, published by the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., New York.
- "THE FOUNTAINHEAD" by Ayn Rand, 1943, the Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1952, A Signet Book, published by the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., New York.
- "WHEN THE KISSING HAD TO STOP" by Constantine FitzGibbon, 1960, W. W. Norton & Company; 1961, Bantam Books, New York. (When I think of this book, I think of Fabian Socialism which, until it proved such an utter failure, took over England. Fabian Socialism and Communism are "kissin' cousins"....hence the title is most appropriate.)
- "A STUDY OF HISTORY" by Arnold J. Toynbee, Abridgement by D. C. Somervell, 1947, Oxford University Press, New York & London.
- "VILLAGE OF THE DAMNED", based on "THE MIDWICH CUCKOOS" by John Wyndham, 1957, Ballantine Books, Inc., New York. (This book must have given me the idea about cuckoos laying socialistic eggs in the American nest. I hope to read the original soon.)
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(Continued)

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"WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT INFLATION" by Henry Hazlitt, 1960, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York.

"THE FAILURE OF THE 'NEW ECONOMICS'" by Henry Hazlitt, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York.

You will note some of these books are on one side, some on the other, and I've mixed them up. Naturally, most of them deal with collectivism and socialism from my angle, because I'm convinced those are the ones from which you'll learn the most that is worthwhile. However, I feel strongly you should be just as well informed on the opposing side, because that's the only way one may reach intelligent conclusions. You'll be able to find many books on the other side because the proponents for socialism make a point of being verbose, both orally and literally.

Many of the books I've listed are available in paper-back form. Anyone with as voracious an appetite as I have for reading has learned, long since, that the one way to keep your appetite within your means is to buy paper-backs. We're fortunate so many are being printed.

As I said before there's much, much more information I'd like on this subject, and I intend to go on questing and informing myself from all perspectives. I hope you'll do the same.

Good luck and good hunting!

\*Titles underlined are of books from which I quoted in "HOMAGE TO THE H.U.A.C."

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In response to your inquiry, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Further, information in FBI files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to a regulation of the Department of Justice. In view of these facts, I am sure you will understand why I cannot comment in the manner you requested.

Since you expressed an interest in communism, I am enclosing some material on this subject which I hope will prove beneficial.

Sincerely yours,

**J. Edgar Hoover**

**John Edgar Hoover**  
**Director**

MAILED 31  
MAR 28 1962  
COMM-FBI

**Enclosures (5)**

Let's Fight Communism Sanely!  
"Faith in God--Our Answer To Communism"  
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?  
Internal Security Statement (April 17, 1961)  
The Communist Party Line

NOTE: See next page

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

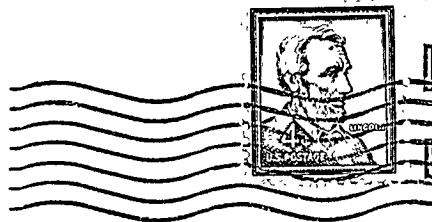
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**NOTE:** Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.  
Frank J. Donner is the subject of a current security investigation  
and is on the security index of the New York Office. (100-25688)

[Redacted]  
Hackensack, N.J.



J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-06-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

[Redacted]  
Hackensack, N.J.  
March 25, 1961

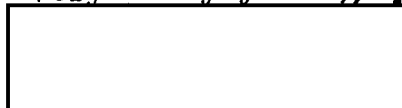
b6  
b7c

J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

Recently, Frank J. Donner, a constitutional lawyer published a book, "The Un-Americans" in which he denounces HCUA. I have been told recently that Mr. Donner has been accused of being a Communist before a legislative committee (I am not sure which one). Could you please let me know if this is true and if it is, could you also send me the testimony on Mr. Donner or let me know where I can get it? Thank you very much.

Very truly yours, *A*



EX-116

REC-14

100-25688-126

11 MAR 29 1962

*Rel 3-26-62*  
*WME/dec* *ess* *100-25688-126*

CORRESPONDENCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>JUN 18 1962</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>3/27 - 6/13/62</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>FRANK JORIS DONNER</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>pam</b>
<b>SECRET</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE	

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

**SECURITY MATTER - C**

REFERENCE EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1, 6)  
DATE 08-06-2009

Report of SA  dated 5/29/61,  
at New York.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that division.

Subject's employment was verified by SA   
 by a pretext telephone call under the guise of a prospective client to an unidentified female at MU 2-8288, listed in the Manhattan Telephone Directory to the subject at 342 Madison Avenue, NYC.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

④ - Bureau (100-25688) (RM)

1 - New Haven (100-14085) (INFO) (RM)

3 - New York (100-11342)

COPIES DESTROYED

62 OCT 15 1973

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY	REQUEST RECD.	DATE FWD.	HOW FWD.	BY
K-70	7/3/62			

NOTATIONS

CLASSIFIED BY  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

[REDACTED]

(Protect by request)

NY 100-11342-384

NY T-2

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

NY T-3

[REDACTED]

NY 100-11342-340

NY T-4

[REDACTED]

NY 100-11342-341

San Francisco, California

Used to characterize BENJAMIN  
DREYFUS

NY T-5

[REDACTED]

PH 100-8670-1B-38 (14)

NY T-6

[REDACTED]

Panel Source of Newark Office

NY T-7

[REDACTED]

NY T-8

[REDACTED]

NY T-9

[REDACTED]

NY T-10

[REDACTED]

NY 100-142201-500

NY, NY

(Protect by request)

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b7C  
b7D

- B -  
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NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-11  
NK 2214-S\*

(C) NY T-12

b7D

Used to characterize LEW MOROZE

NY T-13  
NY 1286-S\*

Used to characterize ISIDORE  
GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

NY T-14

b1

Used to characterize ISIDORE  
GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

NY T-15  
NY 1537-S\*

Used to characterize ISIDORE  
GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

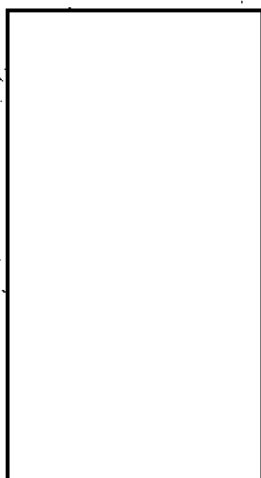
NY T-16  
NY 694-S\*

The informants mentioned in the Miscellaneous section  
of instant report are identified as follows:

Informant

Date Contacted

Contacting Agent



NY 694-S\*

b7D  
4/16/62  
4/16/62  
4/16/62  
4/20/62  
4/20/62  
4/19/62  
4/20/62  
4/17/62  
4/24/62  
4/24/62  
4/24/62  
4/24/62  
4/25/62  
4/25/62  
5/11/62

SA [redacted]  
SA [redacted]  
SA [redacted]  
SA JOHN A. HAAG  
SA JOHN A. HAAG  
SA JOHN A. HAAG  
SA JOHN A. HAAG  
SA JOHN A. HAAG  
SA [redacted]  
SA [redacted]  
SA [redacted]  
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NY 100-11342

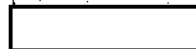
INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

The sources used to characterize the following organizations are indicated below in the order in which they appear:

Friday Night Forum


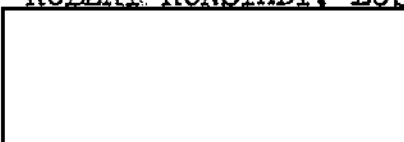
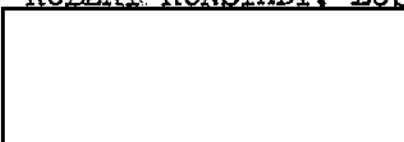


Citizens Committee to Preserve  
American Freedom



ROBERT RONSTADT, Los Angeles

New York Council to Abolish  
the Un-American Activities  
Committee

1. 
2. ROBERT RONSTADT, Los Angeles
3. 
4. 

- D -  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current. ~~SECRET~~
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are Secret 9-9-77 - baf: ag
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because (state reason)

it contains information from NY T-1 through NY T-16, the unauthorized disclosure of which could compromise these sources and thus be injurious to the national defense interests.

8. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) not interviewed.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)

of his position as an attorney and his hostility displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959.

9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)

of subject's long history of legal activities on behalf of CP and CP front organizations which are believed to depict him as an individual who would be inimical to the interests of the US in the event of an emergency.

11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☒ Subject's activities ☐ do ☒ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

- E\* -  
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Copy to:

Report of: ARTHUR WEINSTOCK, JR.  
Date: JUN 18 1962

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.: 100-11342

Bureau File No.: 100-25688

Title: FRANK JORIS DONNER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION

DATE 7-26-77 GAD/REC

## Synopsis:

Subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut, and is employed as an attorney at 342 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. Informants reported subject is distinguished member of NLG and that officers of NLG distributed the book "The Un-Americans", written by the subject, to all members of the Guild; that subject spoke at a meeting of the New York Chapter of the NLG on 10/4/61. Official organ of UE reflected that subject, General Counsel, has written a book "The Un-Americans". "The Worker" reflected that subject spoke at UERMWA Convention in September, 1961. Informants reported subject spoke at Friday Night Forum at Newark, New Jersey, and at New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee meeting in NYC, during September, 1961. Informant reported that LEW MOROZE attempted to contact the subject in September, 1961. Informant reported subject contacted ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN in August, 1961. Informant reported that in July, 1961, Tass News Agency submitted a book review to Moscow concerning a new book written by the subject.

- C -

~~SECRET~~

Classified by 2333

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

Sag: 8-9-9-77

## Details:

I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence

On May 4, 1962, NY T-1 advised that the subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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B. Employment

By means of a suitable pretext, it was determined by a Special Agent of the FBI on June 11, 1962, that the subject was employed as an attorney at 342 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

II. ACTIVITIES IN FURTHERANCE  
OF THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT

A. National Lawyers Guild (NLG)

A characterization of the NLG will be found in the Appendix hereto.

On July 5, 1961, NY T-2 advised that the subject is considered to be a distinguished member of the NLG.

On July 7, 1961, NY T-3 made available a 313 page paper bound book entitled "The Un-Americans" by FRANK J. DONNER, published by Ballantine Books, Incorporated, 101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York, Book Number X51OK, price sixty cents.

An insert letter with the paper bound book from the NLG, 154 Nassau Street, New York 38, New York, contained the names of the National Officers of the Guild and the typewritten names of BENJAMIN DREYFUS, NLG President, and ARYAY LENSKE, NLG Executive Secretary, who were the authors of the letter. Instant letter states, "We are sending to all members of the Guild THE UN-AMERICANS by Frank J. Donner, one of our distinguished members and a leading authority on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This is the first fully documented account of this Committee and will only be available for public distribution in mid July."

The first inside page of the book states, "This book provides the full and careful documentation of the House Un-American Activities Committee: how it began; how it kept going; who are its leaders; why it is supported by the southern Democrat-conservative Republican coalition; why it needs headlines for existence; why it travels like a theatrical

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"company; how it works with the FBI, the American Legion, and other private patriotic groups. Most of all you will be astounded at the extent of the Committee's surveillance network. It is literally an Orwellian 'Big Brother' that watches all potentially 'subversive' Americans by keeping millions of names of individuals and thousands of organizations in a huge cross-reference file which is open to friends of the Committee if they want to 'get someone.'

"As Frank Donner says: 'This Committee has broken more records than Babe Ruth.' It has spent the most money, called the most witnesses, published the most pages, visited more places, ruined more lives and is responsible for the least legislation of any Committee in Congress. This roving inquisition drops in on a city, investigatives, and leaves. Many people have lost their jobs, and some have become permanently unemployable: they have been branded."

This paper bound book in its first chapter entitled, "Revolt of the Nonrevolutionaries" develops the theme of how the opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) began on Friday, May 13, 1960, by the protest being made by students at San Francisco City Hall. The theme of this revolt is continued through other chapters entitled as follows:

- Chapter 2 "Birth of a Congressional Monster"
- 3 "Anatomy of a Hate Group"
- 4 "Exposure: The Congressional Pillory"
- 5 "How Exposure Works"
- 6 "The Rights of the Witness"
- 7 "Friendly Heroes and Unfriendly Villains"
- 8 "The Role of the Press"
- 9 "The Road Shows"
- 10 "San Francisco"

- Chapter 11 "San Francisco Revisited-  
And Operation Abolition"
- 12 "The Exposure Formula - Its Operation  
Against Organizations and Groups"
- 13 "HUAC and Religion"
- 14 "Big Brother Is Watching You"
- 15 "The Legislative Hoax"
- "Conclusion"
- "Sources and Acknowledgments"

The paper bound book concludes by stating that "A fresh wind is rising in America .... If HUAC were abolished, Americans could exercise their freedom to dissent and criticize without fear; organizations could take stands on controversial issues without the risk of a HUAC 'citation'; the never-ending stream of political propaganda pouring from HUAC's hate mills would dry up; there would be no more indexes for use by blacklists, no more heavy annual appropriations. The image of America, at home and abroad, would no longer be shamed by an agency of Government which exploits fear, promotes hate and uses falsehood as weapons of ideological warfare."

NY T-4, on June 23, 1955, advised that BENJAMIN DREYFUS, mentioned above, was an active member of a lawyers group known as the Haymarket Group, Professional Section, San Francisco County Communist Party, from approximately 1942 until February, 1950.

The "New York Guild Lawyer", March, 1961, issue, which is self-described as a publication of the NLG, reflects that ARYAY LENSKE, new Executive Secretary of the NLG, is the son of a Guild member from Portland, Oregon. ARYAY was described as having "... a record of



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vigorous and effective leadership in organizing student activities on the Pacific Coast on major current issues, including the defense of civil liberties, the abolition of the HCUA, peace and civil rights."

On October 16, 1961, NY T-2 advised that at a meeting of the New York Chapter of the NLG, held on October 4, 1961, at 49 West 32nd Street, New York City, the subject made a speech following the showing of the film "Operation Abolition".

The "New York Guild Lawyer", a monthly publication of the NLG, issue of October, 1961, pages four and five, reflect that the subject gave a talk at a monthly meeting of the New York Chapter of the NLG held on October 4, 1961, at the Hotel Martinique, 32nd Street and Broadway, New York, New York, following a showing of the film "Operation Abolition", which the subject termed as a "forgery on celluloid".

B. United Electrical, Radio  
and Machine Workers of  
America (UE)

A characterization of the UE will be found in the Appendix hereto.

The July 31, 1961 issue of "UE News", official organ of the UE, contains an article on page 9, reporting that UE General Counsel FRANK J. DONNER has written a book "The Un-Americans", which book exposes the activities, the methods and some of the aims of the HUAC.

On March 20, 1962, NY T-5 made available information which indicates that the subject spoke at the UE 26th Convention (no date or place indicated) attacking the ultra-right campaign in America.

"The Worker" issue of September 24, 1961, page two, reflects that the subject spoke at the UE Convention in September, 1961, and warned that America's democracy is seriously threatened by a rising fascist-like ultra-rightist movement.

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"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

C. Friday Night Forum

A characterization of the Friday Night Forum will be found in the Appendix hereto.

On September 11, 1961, NY T-6 advised that an announcement had been received indicating that the subject was to be the speaker at a meeting of the Friday Night Forum to be held on September 15, 1961, in Newark, New Jersey.

On September 19, 1961, NY T-7 advised that the subject was the main speaker at a meeting of the Friday Night Forum held on September 15, 1961, at the Continental Ballroom, 982 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, and that the subject spoke mainly on the HUAC and why it should be abolished.

D. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC)

A characterization of the ECLC will be found in the Appendix hereto.

On July 14, 1961, NY T-8 advised that there was received from the ECLC a paperback edition of the subject's book entitled "The Un-Americans" together with a letter asking support for the ECLC.

E. Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom (CCPAF)

A characterization of the CCPAF will be found in the Appendix hereto.

On January 25, 1962, NY T-9 made available information which indicated that the CCPAF was sending copies of the subject's book "The Un-Americans" to college newspaper editors during December, 1961.

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F. The New York Council to  
Abolish the Un-American  
Activities Committee

A characterization of the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee will be found in the Appendix hereto.

On September 11, 1961, NY T-10 advised that the subject spoke at a meeting of the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, which meeting was held on September 9, 1961, at the Calvary Episcopal Church, 61 Gramercy Park, New York, New York.

G. Contacts

On September 25, 1961, NY T-11 advised that on that date, LEW MOROZE attempted to contact the subject.

On April 27, 1961, NY T-12 advised that LEW MOROZE was at that time State Secretary of the New Jersey Communist Party (CP).

On August 17, 1961, NY T-13 advised that on that date, the subject contacted ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN.

During 1957 and 1958, NY T-13 and NY T-15 furnished the following information concerning ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN:

NEEDLEMAN is a practicing attorney in New York City. He was formerly employed by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the registered Russian trade agency in the United States, in a legal capacity, and he continues to represent this agency from time to time. NEEDLEMAN has represented current and former members of the CP before congressional committees and in the courts, and has served as a

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From 100-11342*

custodian of CP funds. He has described himself as favoring strict adherence to Marxist-Leninist doctrines and has actively participated in the solicitation of a fund to promote Marxist study and research.

~~C~~ (U)

During March, 1958, NY T-16 advised that NEEDLEMAN has acted as a Soviet espionage agent.

~~S~~ (U)

### III. MISCELLANEOUS

During April and May, 1962, informants, familiar with certain phases of CP activities in the New York City area, were contacted concerning the subject and a photograph of the subject was exhibited to them. These informants were unable to furnish any additional information concerning the subject.

On July 28, 1961, NY T-14 advised that the Tass News Agency, New York City, had submitted a book review to Moscow on that date concerning a new book written by FRANK J. DONNER, entitled "The Un-Americans". This review describes "The Un-Americans" as one of the most fully documented accounts of the inquisitorial House Committee on Un-American Activities. This review also refers to the FBI when it states that "Donner pinpoints how the FBI and the various fascist-type, racist, and other so-called 'hate' groups work hand in glove with the HUAC". NY T-14 further advised that the Tass News Agency was air mailing a copy of "The Un-Americans" to Moscow.

~~C~~ (U)

The Tass News Agency is the official Soviet Government news gathering organization, with headquarters in Moscow, USSR, and branches throughout the world.

~~C~~ (U)

NY 100-11342

1.

IV. APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN  
FREEDOMS (CCPAF)

A source advised on May 3, 1961, that the CCPAF was organized in Los Angeles, California, in January, 1952, for the announced purpose of supporting a number of individuals from the medical and legal professions who had been subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Since its establishment, the CCPAF, in extending its scope, has worked for the abolition of all Congressional, State, and local committees investigating subversive activities and in the latter part of 1954, became very active in opposition to State and Federal legislation directed at the Communist movement.

The primary goal of the CCPAF is the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Secretary of the CCPAF, is described by the source as the "brains and energy" behind the organization. He periodically confers with DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, Southern California District Communist Party, and is in close touch with other leading Communist functionaries in the Los Angeles area.

Another source advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a Communist Party member as of September, 1952.

1.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. \* \* \* The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. \* \* \* WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.'

2.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

\* \* \*'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

- "2. 'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the \* \* \* Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'  
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"



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APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (NEWARK, NEW JERSEY)

<sup>554</sup> A source reported in November, 1960, that a forum for "Lefts and Progressives" was mentioned as coming into existence at a meeting of New Jersey Communist Party (CP) leaders held in Newark, New Jersey, at the end of October, 1960. DAVID ROCKLIN, known to the source as a CP member, and other active CP members were mentioned as being associated with the effort to establish such a public sounding board. (U) ~~C~~

A second source advised in December, 1960, that a letter had been prepared announcing the organization of the Friday Night Forum and advertising the first meeting as being scheduled for January 20, 1961. The address of the Friday Night Forum, Post Office Box #4034, Newark 12, New Jersey, as well as the name of DAVID ROCKLIN, appeared on this announcing letter. The letter set forth the intention of the Friday Night Forum to present a series of lectures, one each month, at the Continental Ballroom, 982 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, on the "political events of these times" and to feature qualified speakers on such topics as abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), Cuba, Africa, Asia, civil rights, co-existence, national and international events.

A third source advised on May 15, 1961, that the Friday Night Forum of Newark, New Jersey, has presented a series of speakers on such topics as international relations, abolition of the HCUA, Africa and Asia, and other items of current interest, by means of a series of meetings held monthly on Friday evenings in Newark, New Jersey. This source also advised that the Friday Night Forum is currently holding these meetings.

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild :

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the \* \* \* National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'  
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

1.

APPENDIX

THE NEW YORK COUNCIL TO  
ABOLISH THE UN-AMERICAN  
ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

A second source advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a Communist Party member as of September, 1952.

The "National Guardian" in January 16, 1961, issue, page 7, column 1, contained an article which states that the NYCAUAC has only one objective: "to help the National Committee as vigorously as possible in its endeavors to mobilize the American people in a campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

A third source furnished on March 9, 1961, a prospectus of the NCAUAC prepared principally by FRANK WILKINSON, which in reference to "local abolition committees" stated that these committees may identify and coordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent program as possible. The prospectus also stated that the NYCAUAC was responsible for coordinating abolition activities on the Atlantic coast.

Various sources have advised in April, 1961, that Communist Party members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAUAC during attendance at Communist Party club meetings.

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APPENDIX

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO  
AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UE)

The "UE Shop Steward Guide," UE Publication Number 212, Sixth Edition, 1952, reflects on pages 32-34, "UE - the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America was established in 1936 at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly after a large group of AFL machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, (UE).

"The UE is known as an 'International Union' because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract."

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor", prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, reflects on pages 80 and 81, "In 1944, the Committee on Un-American Activities found the following unions to have 'Communist leadership. . .strongly entrenched:'

"United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (CIO).

"The following unions have been expelled from the CIO because of their Communist domination:

"United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America."

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate" on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America".

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 24, 1961, edition of "UE News", official organ of UE.

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York  
JUN 18 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title                      Frank Joris Donner

Character                Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of  
Special Agent [REDACTED], at New York, dated  
and captioned as above.

b6  
b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

New York T-10 has furnished insufficient  
information to determine his reliability.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-06-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

**COPIES DESTROYED**

**62 OCT 15 1973**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1, 6)  
DATE 08-07-2009

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 12-3-62

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile :

Attention : \_\_\_\_\_

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

( 100-1375 )

Title ① FRANK DONNER	Character IS - C
APPROPRIATE AGENCY AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION DATE 1-26-77 GMB/5	Reference No prior correspondence.

Enclosed are the following communications received  
copies of \_\_\_\_\_

Original and two

Classified by 2333

Exempt from GDS, Category 1

Date of Declassification Indefinite

## Remarks:

② Please furnish this office with information available in Bufiles  
re subject Donner which may be furnished \_\_\_\_\_

③ Clarence Shirley Jackson, mentioned in the enclosure, is the  
subject of Bufile 122-193. Bernard Seymour Mergler, also  
mentioned in the enclosure as being the subject of Ottawa file  
100-516, was mentioned in numerous correspondence with the  
Bureau under the caption "Alleges Plan to Arrange for Sanctuary  
in Guatemala for Leading Communists Should the Party Go Underground,  
IS - C." There have been various other references to him in  
connection with Cuban matters in the recent past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

## Dissemination

- ☐ May be made as received  
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure  
☒ May not be made without further clearance \_\_\_\_\_

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

New York

Status with this office:

- ☐ RUC  
☒ Pending

Bureau (1 cc) New York)

(Enc. 3)

1 - Ottawa

MLI:jhc

(4)

ENCLOSURE

53 DEC 31 1962

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Do not write in space below

100-25688 128

REC-24

4 DEC 11 1962

SUBV. CONTROL

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(6)  
DATE 08-10-2009

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Legal Attache, Ottawa (100-1375)

December 19, 1962

Director, FBI (100-25688)

1 - Mr. Glascock

FRANK JORIS DONNER  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from GDS, Exempt from  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Reur Form 5-82 dated 12/3/62.

Enclosed are three copies of a letterhead memorandum prepared at the Bureau in response to your request. You may furnish one or more copies to the

For your information, subject is included in the Security Index of the New York Office.

Enclosed for the information of the New York Office is one copy each of referenced Form and its enclosure together with a copy of the Bureau's letterhead memorandum.

Enclosures - 3

1 - New York (Enclosures - 3) (100-11342)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OR CLASSIFICATION  
DATE 9-26-77

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Legat requested information regarding Donner suitable for dissemination to

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

JHG:cad

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE

MAILED 31  
DEC 13 1962  
COMM-FBI

REC-41 100-25688-129

19 DEC 21 1962

53 DEC 31 1962

CONFIDENTIAL

MAIL ROOM ☐ RECEIVED UNIT ☐



  
1 - Mr. Glascock

December 18, 1962

FRANK JORIS DONNER

Frank Joris Donner was born February 25, 1911, at Brooklyn, New York. He resides in South Norwalk, Connecticut, and is an attorney with offices at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Three admitted former Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), members have advised that from 1939 to 1942 Donner was a member of a secret CPUSA apparatus for Government employees in Washington, D. C., and conducted apparatus meetings at his home during this period. He signed a CPUSA nominating petition in 1940.

He has been associated with several communist front organizations over the years and served as the attorney for a number of Smith Act of 1940 defendants.

In 1956 he appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States 33 times when questioned concerning the Communist Party (CP) affiliations of himself and acquaintances. Again in 1959 he appeared before the Committee and again invoked his Constitutional privilege in response to questions respecting past CP membership.

100-25688


ORIGINAL AND TWO FOR OTTAWA, COPY TO NEW YORK.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

JHG:cad

(7) 

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100-25688-129 

ENCLOSURE 

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

February 8, 1963

REC-42  
EX-112

100-25688-130

[Redacted Address]

Reading, Pennsylvania

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [Redacted]:

Your postal card of February 5th has been received.

I have made it a policy for many years not to comment concerning any publication not prepared by this Bureau or by me. I am sure you will understand my position in this regard.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has as one of its primary responsibilities the recommendation of appropriate legislation regarding subversive activities to the Congress. I have always felt the Committee makes a contribution in its public disclosure of the forces that menace America.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

MAILED 6  
FEB 8 - 1963  
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent not identifiable in Bufiles. "The Un-Americans," has been reviewed in the Central Research Section. It is highly critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the FBI and the use of informants. The author of this book, Frank J. Donner, is the subject of a current security investigation and is on the Security Index.

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FEB 12 1963

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FEB 11 1963

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RECEIVED DIRECTOR

RMW

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. BELMONT \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MOHR \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CASPER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CALLAHAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CONRAD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. DELOACH \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. EVANS \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. GALE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. SULLIVAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TAVEL \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. TROTTER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. JONES \_\_\_\_\_  
TELE. ROOM \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS HOLMES \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. METCALF \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Mr. Hoover:

2/5/63

I have just finished reading "The Un-Americans" by Frank J. Donner. I would appreciate your comments on the book and on the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Yours truly,

[Redacted Signature]

Reading, Pa.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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b7c

REC-42

100-25688-130

EX-112

17 FEB 6 1963

8-RMW

nmf  
Let the General  
RMW: mcb 2/8/63

CONFIDENTIAL

1/14/63

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-11)  
FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (100-22608)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re CV airtel 1/7/63, concerning the scheduled appearance of FRANK J. DOMER, NY attorney, and author of "The Un-American" in CV on 1/11, 12/63, and requesting NY to furnish public source information re DOMER.

[redacted] on 1/8/63, reported that DOMER on 1/11/63 was scheduled to appear on a KYW TV news program, a KYW radio program, the KYW "MIKE DOUGLAS" TV show, the NEWS TV program DOROTHY FULMER, a WABC radio program of VALERIE MINOR WILLIAMS and at a meeting at a private home at 8:30 PM.

Supervisor JOHN ROONEY, NY Office, on 1/10/63, telephonically advised SAC E. S. MANNITT regarding the location of public source information regarding DOMER contained in reports of NYA publications in 1959.

SAC contacted [redacted] KYW radio and TV, on 1/10/63, made inquiry regarding the background of DOMER. He indicated that KYW had received numerous telegrams, telephone calls, and personal contacts protesting the scheduled appearances of DOMER, apparently emanating from

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- ① - 100-25688 (FRANK DOMER) (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - 100-11342 (FRANK DOMER) (RM)
- 3 - Cleveland
- 1 - 100-22608 (FRANK DOMER)
- 1 - 100-17805 (NYA)

EHB:arl  
(3)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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100-25688-  
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F-56

CV 100-23039

the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), the Organization to Fight Communism (OFC), and the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism (CCIC).

[redacted] was referred to public source information re DOMER contained in HCUA publications. KIV subsequently advised that DOMER's scheduled appearance on the "MIKE DOUGLAS" show had been cancelled; that DOMER would be interviewed and taped by the station; and that Professor MICHAEL PAPP, John Carroll University and offices in the CCIC would participate in the interview, after which a decision would be reached as to whether to use the tape on a later program.

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The radio and TV programs on which DOMER was scheduled to appear on 1/11/63, were monitored by the CV Office, and he did not appear, and was not mentioned except by VALENA NIXON WILLIAMS on WABC, who during various news announcements during the "News Rad" news program, announced that DOMER would speak at a meeting at 8:30 PM, at 10703 Ashbury, CV.

[redacted] on 1/14/63, reported approximately 120 persons attended the meeting for DOMER at 10703 Ashbury, CV, on 1/11/63. VIOLET TARCAI, President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, CV Branch, was Chairman of the meeting and KINA KAUFMAN, Chairman of the Citizens for Constitutional Rights, spoke indicating that she had recently taken petitions containing 500 signatures, urging abolition of the HCUA, to Washington, D. C. One copy of the recent HCUA hearings concerning the Women Strike for Peace was passed around during the meeting. DOMER in his speech, attacked the HCUA and urged its abolition; praised the MSP; and charged that the "ultra-right" had prevented him from appearing on radio and TV in CV.

b7D

1/10/63

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-11)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-129802)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - C

Re Cleveland airtel, 1/7/63, requesting public source background information concerning FRANK DONNER, who possibly may appear on radio and television in the Cleveland area during his visit on 1/11, 12/63.

The NYO reviewed the FRANK DONNER file and determined that the best material for Cleveland's purpose appeared in House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) testimony, where DONNER was identified by witnesses as having been a member of the Communist Party, USA.

Because time was of the essence, the NYO telephonically contacted the Cleveland office at about 9:00 a.m. on 1/10/63 and referred Cleveland to the HCUA testimony as being the best public source material regarding DONNER.

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-104-11) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-25683) (FRANK DONNER)
- 3 - Cleveland (100-23089) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-22603) (FRANK DONNER)
- 1 - NY 100-11342 (FRANK DONNER) (412)
- 1 - NY 100-129802 (41)

EJC:ems  
(10)

100-25683-  
NOT RECORDED  
178 JAN 11 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-25683

1/7/63

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-11)  
FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (100-23089)  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7D

2  
[redacted], on 1/6/63, reported that the Citizens for Constitutional Rights (CCR), which is considered to be a working committee of the Community Party (CP) in Cleveland, has arranged for FRANK J. DONNER, author of "The Un-Americans" and New York Attorney to appear at a meeting at a private home in Cleveland on 1/11/63. The CCR will also attempt to arrange radio and television appearances for DONNER, while he is in Cleveland, January 11, 12, 1963.

It is anticipated that inquiries concerning the background of DONNER may be received from established news media sources.

The New York Office is therefore, requested to furnish documentation of FRANK J. DONNER, and any available public source information concerning his Communist affiliations.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - 100-25688 (FRANK DONNER)  
3 - New York (RM)  
1 - 100-11342 (FRANK DONNER)  
2 - Cleveland  
1 - 100-22608 (FRANK DONNER)

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(8)

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178 JAN 11 1963

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JAN 14 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-104-11-62



100-25688-131  
May 1, 1963

REC-116

[Redacted]  
South Gate, California

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

Your letter of April 24th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry concerning Frank J. Donner, information in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. You may, however, desire to direct correspondence to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Room 225, Cannon House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C., for such assistance as that Committee may be able to furnish.

b6  
b7C

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: Prior limited but cordial correspondence with Mr. [Redacted] "The Un-Americans" has been reviewed in the Central Research Section. It is highly critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the FBI and the use of informants. The author of this book, Frank J. Donner, is currently the subject of a security investigation and is on the Security Index.

RMW:nfb (3) 2 06-01-63

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RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

[Redacted]  
South Gate, Calif.

Apr. 24, 1963

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Office of the  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

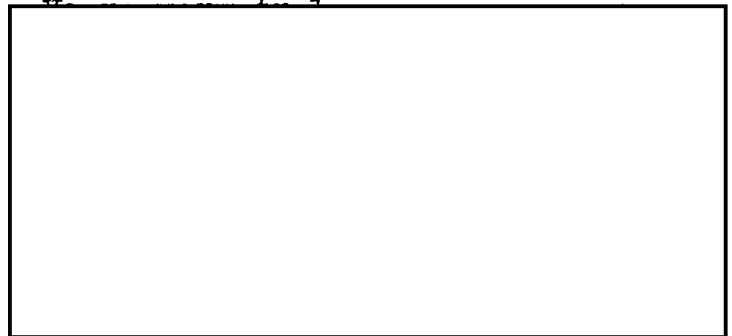
My local library has on its shelves a book by  
Frank J. Donner entitled "The UnAmericans".  
While I have never read it, I understand it is  
nothing more nor less than a book of Communist  
propaganda. I intend to protest and urge its  
withdrawal and destruction.

b6  
b7C

Will you kindly give me what information you  
can concerning regarding Frank J. Donner; or advise  
where I can get the information.

Thanking you, I am

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DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



REC-116

100 - 25688 - 131

12 MAY 3 1963

MAY 30 8 3 AM '63

CORRESPONDENCE  
W

ack  
5/1/63

2/25/63

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

FM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-432625)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-140019)

SUBJECT :

SI-C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On 2/22/63, [redacted] advised that [redacted] asked [redacted] ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, for the address of FRANK DOMER. He explained that DOMER was interested in "FBI infiltration into the campus" (at the University of Wisconsin) and stated that "there are some people here who have reports to give him".

For info.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 08-10-2009

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

DATE 7-26-78

- 4 - Bureau (100-432625) (RM)
- (1 - 100-25688) (FRANK DOMER)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-13610) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-70603) (I. G. NEEDLEMAN) (33)
- 1 - New York (100-11342) (FRANK DOMER) (424)
- 1 - New York (100-140019) (33)

VAL:EC (33)  
(10)

100-25688-

NOT RECORDED  
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Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

54 MAR 8 1963

9.9.77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-25688)

DATE: May 17, 1963

FROM : SAC, CLEVELAND (100-22608) (c)

SUBJECT: FRANK DONNER  
SM - C

There is enclosed for the Bureau one copy of an FD-302, and twelve copies for New York, showing an interview with [redacted] KYW Radio Station, Cleveland, Ohio, on May 15, 1963, by SA [redacted] at which time [redacted] furnished a magnetic tape containing a recorded interview between FRANK DONNER and a Dr. MICHAEL PAPP and two station announcers.

b6  
b7C

This FD-302 is being furnished as a matter of information and no further action is being taken by the Cleveland Division.

- ENCLOSURE
- 2 - Bureau (Enc 1) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (Enc 12) (RM)
  - 1 - Cleveland

ALA/mln  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

EX-114

REC-34

100-25688-132

3 MAY 20 1963

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55 JUN 11 1963

SUB CONTROL

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

(1)

Date May 16, 1963

[redacted], KYW Radio Station, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, 1405 East 6th Street, made available a magnetic tape which was used to record a conversation between FRANK DONNER, Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, HARV MORGAN and AL JAMES. According to [redacted] this recording was made at the station on January 11, 1963, and will be broadcasted, in part at least at a later date on Program PM". RADIO PROGRAM

[redacted] stated by way of explanation the station had received an announcement indicating DONNER would appear on both KYW Radio and Television, but no arrangements had been made with any of the station personnel for him to appear on any of the station facilities. It was decided that if DONNER was to appear on any of the station facilities, he would have to agree to be presented in an interview with Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, Head of Institute of Soviet Studies, John Carroll University, University Heights, Ohio. The reason for this being that Dr. MICHAEL PAPP would be able to comment on any of the remarks made by DONNER and thus prevent the program dealing with one side of an issue.

b6  
b7c

MORGAN and JAMES, according to [redacted] are announcers at the station.

[redacted] pointed out the information appearing on the tape is the entire discussion which took place at the recording session, but does not necessarily appear in the order it was recorded. The tape has been arranged in the manner in which it will appear on the program when it is presented. [redacted] stated that the tape will be maintained by the station for a reasonable time.

The following is a verbatim transcription of the tape:

On 5/15/63 at Cleveland, Ohio File # Cleveland 100-22608

by SA [redacted] mln Date dictated 5/15/63

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-25688-132  
ENCLOSURE

KYW "PROGRAM PM" INTERVIEW OF  
FRANK DONNER AND MICHAEL PAPP

MORGAN: First, just by delving into the history of the Un-American Activities Committee, as I understand, briefly, it was formed in 1938. Is that correct?

DONNER: That's correct, it was formed then as a temporary Committee under the famous MARTIN DIES.

MORGAN: Now this was the purpose, if I'm correct. The resolution of 1938 under which the Committee functioned on a temporary basis authorized it to investigate and I quote The extent, character and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States. Two, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries and then, this invigorous part that I don't understand, or of a domestic origin, and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution. Now this was the purpose in 1938 when this was founded with MARTIN DIES as the head of the Un-American Activities Committee. Establishing that now, what in the beginning, do you say, how do they transgress their purpose.

DONNER: Well, of course, you see when you complained at one point about the ambiguity of the mandate with respect to domestic propaganda...

MORGAN: But then again it may just show my own limitations.

DONNER: No, I think the Supreme Court has asked this question. Who can define the meaning of un-American. There is a kind of a built-in vagueness in this authorizing resolution which permits the Committee to roam at will all over the lot and pick and choose its targets. Now when you're going to investigate somebody and deprive him of certain freedoms, at a very minimum you should, Congressmen, a Congressional committee which wields this enormous power, should have some meaningful limits to its authority, and one of the persistent complaints, you see, about this committee is that it has no real limits. Now I can illustrate this very graphically to you by raising the point that many people have raised, why doesn't the Committee which is so active on the left,

it's just, as you know, investigated the Women's Strike for Peace, it thinks peace is subversive, why doesn't this committee ever investigate the ultra-right?

MORGAN: They have never done it?

DONNER: They have never done it and as a matter of fact I want to read you a very brief statement from a TV interview with Chairman WALTER on a program called Youth Wants to Know.

MORGAN: I have reference to that and I would very much like to get into it, but I would like to get into it with my own introduction. This also struck me in the book, I would like to ask you about it. But first before I ask Dr. PAPP something, AL, let me ask, is there anything about the activities of the Committee that you would like to find out from Mr. DONNER?

JAMES: I wanted to ask Mr. DONNER whether he thinks that the House Un-American Activities Committee is the cause of the so-called suppression of liberties or whether it was an effect of something else that happened earlier. Is this the start of what you call a decline in our liberty?

DONNER: Well, this is a very difficult...the problems of cause in our social sciences, as I'm sure Dr. PAPP will agree, are extremely frustrating to handle. You're dealing with a rather complex phenomenon. Why is it that during certain periods you have fear in what psychologists call self-censorship? Why is it that people are afraid to speak out? Now, it's rather difficult, you see, to pinpoint one particular phenomenon. My point, however, is that certainly the practice of the Committee in subpoenaing people who are in dissent, not only intimidates them, but casts a pall of fear far beyond the literal reach of what the Committee does. It isn't only the fellow who gets the piece of paper from the marshal that's terrorized, it's a lot of people that would speak out if they weren't afraid that they would be subpoenaed. Now you can say to me, well this isn't rational. They haven't done anything wrong. Why should they be frightened, but the fact is that people are. You can't expect people to be heroes in using their rights of free speech and their rights to dissent. And that's your problem.

MORGAN: As I say, it is my understanding that you appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

DONNER: Yes, I did.

MORGAN: Was your book written before or after?

DONNER: After.

MORGAN: After.

DONNER: Of course, after I wrote the book, Congressman WALTER said it was the product of a red plot. But he says that about everything. He's just said that the Women's Strike for Peace is the product of a red plot.

MORGAN: Let me ask now because the first ten or fifteen minutes I've been talking with Mr. DONNER, who wrote the book "The Un-Americans." Let me talk for a while to Dr. MICHAEL PAPP. Now in view of what we have been talking about, and again just in the overall atmosphere of informality, Dr. PAPP, what would you like to add?

PAPP: Well, I would simply say that any nation has the right to protect itself against internal subversion, and I would simply state that as long as Un-American Activities Committee is a product of our legislature, of our Congress, and the members of our Congress are people we vote for, they represent us, as long as they feel that Un-American Activities is performing a function necessary to protect us, that Un-American Activities Committee should be not only protected but should be supported. Now there are two types of freedom, I would say, and it is freedom to oppress and freedom from oppression. There are also two types of groups in America, one group the communists, the dedicated communists who were identified as agents of a foreign power who already...their fate as the party was decided by Supreme Court. They were identified as agents and we have to treat them as such because they never denied that they would follow the advice of Moscow.

MORGAN: Could you expand on that identified by the Supreme Court?

PAPP: Supreme Court decision clearly states that Communist Party of United States is an agency of a foreign power and as such must register and as such must comply with our law. Now there is another group of people, I would



say, the mislead citizens of this country who very often go for the line of the communists because they use the same language as we do. They speak of freedom, they mean freedom to oppress us. They speak of peace, they mean peace under communist rule. When they speak of democracy they mean their right, their right to dictate their views upon all of us. And I would simply say that as long as this is true, all those people who take a position against Un-American Activities Committee are doing this nation a great disservice. Now I would say that there are moments where I would disagree with the method used by the Committee, but in principle this is the agency which gave us a chance to learn about an enemy which does not recognize morality nor ethical standards. They will lie, they will cheat, and they will do anything to subdue us. And then once they succeed then we have no right to discuss it freely. In fact, I want to preserve the society where we have the right to disagree. But not with those people who are dedicated to destruction of very essence of democracy, and yet they want the protection, a total protection of their right, of the right of a small minority dedicated to the destruction of democracy. They want their right to be protected by the great majority who wants to live in freedom and indeed without fear.

MORGAN: And a program such as this under this system would be completely impossible, I would imagine.

PAPP: Absolutely not, you know very well that in the Soviet Union you can disagree once and then you are simply massacred. You can take a position once against the government of the Soviet Union, and that was your last position. There is no more. Nobody will hear about you anymore unless it is endorsed by the interpreter of the Party, Mr. KHRUSHCHEV now, and before by STALIN.

MORGAN: Well, in these areas where you say you might disagree with the methods that they use, what would be recourse then, short of the abolition of the Committee?

PAPP: Well, as I stated already, I feel that the nation has the right to protect itself and I am in favor of creating those legislative committees which would look into the problem. They gave us so many documentary evidence that gave us a clear picture of what communism is, since there is a complacency and there is ignorance

on the part of majority of American citizens, this Committee performs a very important function, the citizens in the community is not having time to go around and they do use a method which I endorse and if a man is afraid to identify himself as an American citizen, well it's just too bad, it's just too bad. A decent citizen of this country doesn't have anything to fear from Un-American Activities Committee.

MORGAN: Let me ask you this then, you say that all of the people that have been investigated and accused by the Un-American Activities Committee, that one hundred percent, that all of these people were guilty or were some innocent people hurt in this.

PAPP: No, Mr. MORGAN, I did mention that sometimes I wish the method would be improved. I wish that the Un-American Activities Committee would do preliminary investigation without harming the individual. I wish they would do these things before they bring the individual into open and then they cannot prove his guilt. In fact, Un-American Activities Committee does not even have the right to prove guilt or not guilt of a person.

MORGAN: But just ruin the reputation.

PAPP: They might ruin the reputation, and yet the whole thing narrows down to the point, what is more important, the protection of the whole or the protection of some individual who might be hurt, and then the Committee apologizes and I don't know of any man who would have been hurt by the hearing as such. In fact, majority of those people volunteered, volunteered the testimony, and you know who was harrassed, those who were frank and admitted what was going on in this nation in the Communist Party, then the communists harrassed them and then created an illusion as if this Un-American Activities Committee was doing who knows what. The communists deliberately wanted to discredit Un-American Activities Committee and they said a man was really harrassed. This is a testimony from hundreds of people who said they were not afraid of the citizens in the community. They were afraid what the Party would do to them because they allegedly betrayed the idea of the Party.

MORGAN: How would you answer this, this is a quote from the book that FRANK DONNER wrote. This is a quote from HARRY S. TRUMAN and I will take the assumption that it is a true quote, perhaps you would not, Dr. PAPP. "The House Un-American Activities Committee is the most un-American thing in America," from HARRY S. TRUMAN. How do you justify that?

PAPP: I would stick to my guns that as long as the legislature, as long as the Congress of the United States of America feels that this agency is needed it has to be there and as soon as the Congress will say this agency is not any more needed then it is the prerogative of our Congress to decide the issue. Not the prerogative of individuals who might have an idea. I don't like many things we do or not do and yet I too would feel we have obligation toward our institutions. This is our free institution creative agency, I would not take a stand against it.

MORGAN: Let me ask this then, if it was up to the prerogative of Congress, is it not the prerogative of the people then as we do on almost any matter to let our Congressmen know how we feel about a given subject, and if we do write into a Congressman taking a stand against this, would not that person be running a personal risk of losing his own reputation and someone getting back at him.

PAPP: How do you lose a reputation? I mean, we have in our academic field, Mr. MORGAN, I would say many people who take a stand of equal guilt. They always find us equally guilty in this world with the communists and they are teaching our children. Nobody objects to them. In fact, they are taking a position, a very cynical position, very often against the very foundation of this democracy. Yet they have right to teach, to really, to do whatever they feel is right. We have an industrialist in this own country who for years is informing KHRUSHCHEV and our citizens that we are a war mongering nation and what not and he is doing this and I feel that as long as we have a society where any man, irrespective of his position, can make a fool of himself with impunity, it is a good society to defend, it is a good country to protect, and indeed die for if necessary.

MORGAN: A millionaire can afford to be a fool. Sometimes a poor man can't, who might feel the same way.

PAPP: Well, I don't know of any man, at least in our profession, and you know in the teachers are regarded as a kind of intellectual proletariat of the world, particularly those in America because we are, they say, underpaid, yet they do speak freely and in fact the more they take a critical attitude against this country the more respected their view is in the academic area.

MORGAN: AL?

JAMES: I wanted to ask Mr. DONNER a question. I wanted to clear something up in my own mind. Is it your view, sir, that if the person wants to be a member of the Communist Party, he should be allowed to be a communist.

DONNER: I certainly believe that. I certainly believe that the right to freedom of choice, politically, one of the privileges of living in a free society, includes the right to choose any particular view and all of the free countries of the Western World, Britain, France, Italy, their concept of parliamentary democracy embraces and protects the rights of communists as well as others. What we have done in this country is try to recast the premises of democracy to exclude certain groups, I don't think it's going to work.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, may I interrupt?

DONNER: Well let me just finish, let me just finish. You see I think the whole theory that we have adopted in this country is that our country is tottering on the brink of internal subversion.

MORGAN: You don't think the Communist Party, then, is a method to overthrow our government.

DONNER: My dear man, the Communist Party now is reduced to less than 10,000 members.

MORGAN: In America, you mean.

DONNER: In America. Of those 10,000 members, according to a recent article by an FBI Agent, 1500 are undercover agents of the FBI. That means that you have one agent of Mr. HOOVER for every five and seven tenths Communist.

Now are we that weak, are we really that powerless that these people constitute a serious menace. I doubt that, that to me is the biggest fraud of our time. Now let me point out one thing to you. When the First Amendment was passed way back in 1789 America was besieged by three land powers, all of which were more powerful than it, France, England and Spain, and yet the people who framed our Constitution had enough faith and freedom in the right to dissent to guarantee everybody the right to freedom. Now what has happened with the House Committee is that they more than any one agency have perpetrated this perfectly ridiculous myth that our country is in danger. Why that is utter nonsense. We have a mountain of statutes to deal with communism. We have the Smith Act, which sends people to jail if they advocate the overthrow of the government. We have the McCarran Act, we have registration statutes, we have espionage statutes, we have more statutes dealing with so-called subversion than any country in the world. Now are you telling me that we need the restraints of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to protect us, to protect us from what?

PAPP: Mrs. FRENZ said that the Communist Party of the United States is not alone. When the communists in the United States have the support of the whole empire, communist empire which could kill any assistance in time of crisis, you would be surprised how much the communists could do in crisis. It took 24,000 Russian communists to overthrow alleged democracy which was in existence in Russia in 1917 and they had the support of seven million voters.

DONNER: But Dr. PAPP, don't you see what that leads you. That leads you to the point where you never are able to draw the line in favor of freedom. You can always conjure up some remote contingency which will lead you to say we can't afford full freedom now. Now I say, we've got to reach a point where we mean what we say.

PAPP: We should protect, I say we should protect the right of those who are mislead. Not those who signed an agreement with a foreign power that in time of crisis they would do anything in their power to undermine the very foundation of our liberty. Let me just say this. That in United States of America, today, it is not so very important how much the communists represent, how many of them are here, you said 10,000 Communists.

DONNER: That's what J. EDGAR HOOVER said.

PAPP: It's the problem, what do they stand for, their policy was formulated in 1919 already, and they adhere to that policy and they would change the allegiance very quickly and they have only one allegiance to the red flag of Moscow. Now do you say that this right of - deliberate group which identified itself to be in disfavor of very ideas we are talking about here, the right to be different, their right to destroy the foundation of liberty, should be tolerated?

DONNER: Yes, because freedom is a risky enterprise, as the Supreme Court has said. If you're only going to live in a society in which you're sure of everybody then you've given up freedom. Freedom means the willingness to live with a risk, let me just continue, because what's you're saying, you see, endorses the concept of preventive arrest. You're saying, I don't - true JOE DOKES is only advocating something. He's not engaging in any overt act. He's not doing anything, but in a time of political breakdown he might be a dangerous fellow. Well, under our society, as the Supreme Court has said, you have to wait until you come reasonably close to a danger, this obsession with danger is perfectly ridiculous. Look how much farther ahead we are of the whole world in the weapons of defense, and as a matter of fact, let me point out one thing to you. I was very amused and shocked to read in May, 1960, that two men were arrested for blowing up a couple of communication towers on the Utah - Nevada frontier. And of course the immediate cry arose that this was a communist plot. Well you know who these two people were, it turned out? They were leaders of a group called the American Republican Army, which had as its objection the elimination of the income tax. Now don't talk to me about dangers. They are purely speculated.

PAPP: Those are secondary issues. Mr. DONNER, would you agree on this point? That maybe we should agree in principle that we should give communists in the United States the same right as the non-communists are enjoying in the Soviet empire. After all, the communists insist that this is the only democratic society in the world.

DONNER: Dr. PAPP, what a selling point you have made for me because you are asking us to mirror in our institutions

the very totalitarianism that we oppose.

PAPP: You agree that it is totalitarianism?

DONNER: Yes, of course I do.

PAPP: You agree.

DONNER: But I certainly don't that we should imitate them and that's what you're proposing.

PAPP: Not imitate but you know what happened to those people who are opposing the idea in the Soviet Union. There is only one interpretation. Look how many people in our country are marching on the streets for peace. That's really peace...

DONNER: And being subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, why don't you add that.

PAPP: Why don't they use their energy to protect and to really strengthen our free institutions instead of demonstrating against their own government which is always taking the defensive position. We are helpless in this ideological struggle because we don't take ever any initiative.

MORGAN: There is one very important point that I must bring up and that point is namely that this is Program PM, this is KYW Westinghouse Broadcasting in Cleveland, and right now on Program PM we're discussing several issues centered around a book titled "The Un-Americans" by Mr. FRANK DONNER. And talking with us in this discussion is AL JAMES of the Program PM and Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, Head of the Institute of Soviet Studies at John Carroll University.

(lengthy silence on tape)

DONNER: Well, what the Committee has been accused of is being indifferent to the menace of the right, and when Congressman WALTER was asked whether in that TV program that I mentioned before...

MORGAN: Yes, I want to get into that.

DONNER: ...whether he considered un-American the activities of subversive groups, he said that wasn't in the jurisdiction

of his committee. He was asked this question: "Sir, won't you agree that such subversive organizations as the American Nazi Party and the Klu Klux Klan constitute a threat to the liberties of Americans," he replied, "I don't think so. Actually they haven't engaged in any activity on behalf of a foreign power and that of course is the big difference." And then the questioner said, "But sir, don't you believe that the suppression of minorities is against the Constitution of the United States," and Representative WALTER said, "Of course it is, but it is not within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Un-American Activities to make inquiries into that field." Now let me make one technical point. It is within the jurisdiction of the Un-American Activities Committee because the Un-American Activities Committee mandate, its authorizing resolution, was borrowed directly from the so-called DICK STEIN resolution, which was passed in the thirties to authorize an investigation into Nazi activities, and DICK STEIN did conduct such an investigation of that. The primary thrust of this whole committee, and that is one of the crowning ironies about it, was originally to authorize an investigation into the right, but recently, of course, with the regrowth in this country of an ultra-right, the Committee has been under considerable pressure to continue this probe of the ultra-right, and they have refused, and of course, there's a good reason for it. The ultra-right in this country is the Committee's strongest support. The Committee uses the ultra-right to build up political support for it, to distribute its literature and to share its secret dossiers. You know the Committee has files on literally millions of Americans who are never called, who are never subpoenaed, but the Committee has files on them, has files on Mrs. ROOSEVELT, or on Professor HENRY STEELE COMICHER, and on literally millions of people. Now an ultra-rightist can write to the Committee, and say, "Give me what you've got on Mrs. ROOSEVELT, or on Justice BLACK of the Supreme Court" and the Committee will send him a dossier. That dossier is then used to smear these individuals. It does the same thing with organizations. Now these dossiers are used as ammunition by the ultra-right to discredit and attack and smear a huge portion of our population.

MORGAN: Let me ask Dr. PAPP, are you as disturbed about the ultra-right as you are about the left?



PAPP: Any man, Mr. MORGAN, who would endorse the extreme groups, whether to the right or to the left, would really commit an intellectual dishonesty. It is not only the anti-communism we are concerned here. It is the protection of our liberty to be different. I would say that the ultra-right movements in the United States are diverting the attention of this nation from a real problem of communism and therefore I feel that this is a panicky way to solve the problem. I have a feeling that we could do much better if our educational system would adjust itself to the requirements of 20th Century and handle it in the classroom as a comparative way, democracy versus communism. Or community information centers must be established, they don't get any support you know. And I think the media of communication which is so very vital in our life should use the time to discuss all these problems which are indeed controversial.

MORGAN: Showing both sides?

PAPP: Show both sides, oh yes, yes.

MORGAN: Giving everyone a chance to speak and let people make up their minds.

PAPP: Everyone, because I think that where there is a light there is an opportunity to choose and I have never doubted that a free man would always choose the free way of life.

MORGAN: But might it not be that if these people do give the leftist, say, a chance to speak as you're suggesting, that they might come under attack by the House Un-American Activities Committee?

PAPP: You see, I would distinguish between those representatives of the Communist Party who will cheat, lie, will distort the truth and those who are mislead into believing that communism after all is a way of the future and give it a chance, and so on. I don't think that we should really debate the problem equally between communists and democratically-minded individuals because with the communists you can't actually argue because they have one way and they will use any method to discredit their opponent. We would adhere to the principle of ethical standards, you see, they do not. While we feel that morality plays a great role, they do not. Why, they

would sacrifice the liberty of the whole generation if they would come into possession of power. All they want is power, political power, and don't worry, you and I and even Mr. DONNER would not have a chance to discuss these problems freely.

MORGAN: Let me bring up something that I also read in the book, I'd like to get your reaction to Dr. PAPP. This concerned GORDON SCHERER, who was on the Un-American Activities Committee, a man from Cincinnati. In December, 1959, it seemed that he attacked Senator YOUNG, bringing this right down to Ohio, he attacked him for accepting an invitation to speak at an Emergency Civil Liberties Committee dinner. Now in reply to this chastizement Senator YOUNG, who is known to be quite outspoken, said "When I was on the Anzio Beachheads, he was Safety Director of Cincinnati," that's his comment. SCHERER claimed in a press release that it was "significant that YOUNG had used almost the identical language that has been used by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Communist Daily Worker and the communists who have appeared before the committee." SCHERER, of course, cited no such almost identical language, but using this significant, and there was definite implications about Senator YOUNG in this charge. How about people like this who make these statements which border on rationists?

PAPP: These people don't know the facts and therefore they are introducing in our life a kind of approach to the problem which might be very dangerous. We cannot afford the luxury to suspect every individual who might disagree with us on certain things. We cannot afford the luxury to close the door on a man who might want to associate himself with the people whom the others don't like. I think that if we believe in our principles, if we believe in our heritage, if we believe that this nation is the citadel of liberty, if we believe that an individual man would always choose a free way of life to that of slavery, if we believe that we would die to protect our right to disagree and to protect our society where we can spend our evenings without fear of the knock on the door, then I say we should give the right to the opponents to disagree with us, but we have to insist that this disagreement must be based on the same recognition of the right of the other opponent or their opponent, then of course, we would secure liberty for all. This,

however, I want to stress, excludes the dedicated communist because they do not agree and they do not support the principle of individual liberty as such, hence, there is no point to discuss this problem with the dedicated communists.

DONNER: I think now we are drawing to some kind of issue and I would like to respond to you and see where we are going with this discussion. I'm reminded a little bit of a story that I learned when I was in grammar school, it's drawn from Norse mythology. It seems that the gods condemned Loki, the god of mischief, for some prank that he had performed and they sentenced him to the removal of his head, but in those days they didn't know enough about anatomy to be able to define with precision where the head ends and the neck begins, and so Loki escaped. Now I want to suggest to you in all earnestness that you can't cut off the head of communism without injuring the neck of freedom. That it's just not possible. And I'll tell you why. First, because communists believe many things that a lot of other people believe in. You and I may differ, you see, about these goals, But certainly no one could deny that many of the goals of communism are shared by millions of Americans who've examined these problems and who feel this way. Now there's nothing, you wouldn't say, would you, that we should employ the principle as the House Committee consistently does, of guilt by parallelism or guilt, as lawyers call it, by mutual object, that is to say that because X believes the same things that a communist believes, that therefore we ought to suppress his freedoms. Therefore we ought to call him to Washington. And yet, don't say that I'm exaggerating, because this is a consistent technique of the House Committee. For example, the House Committee has condemned SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Why? Because it has said that the abolition of nuclear testing, the disarmament program, are goals of communists. Well, they're goals of everybody in this nuclear age, that are concerned with the fate of man. Now it just doesn't make sense to me to give an arm of government the authority to say that because you believe some of the things a communist believes that we are going to give you a hard time, we're going to haul you to Washington and question your patriotism.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER...

DONNER: ...because that's actually what the House Committee does.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER...

DONNER: Now wait a minute, I'm not finished. And not only that but the Committee takes people who may have been communists 20 years ago. They took a woman who was before this active in the Women's Strike for Peace and they asked her what about her activities at Vassar in 1937. In the first place, I never knew that Vassar was such a hotbed of revolution. But to take what a person did as a student over 25 years ago and brand that person and make them suspect because you don't like their views, you see, to me, is a profanation, you talk about freedom and democracy, this is a profanation of freedom and democracy.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, Mr. DONNER, you speak about millions of people sharing the view about communism. I want you to know that you are talking about theory. About the practice of communism, we are learning from KHRUSHCHEV who, at the 20th Party Congress, gave us a picture of what communism is in reality and I want you to know if one hundredth of accusations about old Stalinists by KHRUSHCHEV would be true, Mr. DONNER, communism in practice is the filthiest enterprise in history.

DONNER: But you see I don't want my freedom...

PAPP: One moment, you are interferring...

DONNER: I thought you were through.

PAPP: No, not yet. Now this is the problem. That we would like to prevent a nation to endorse lofty slogans which are very similar to the slogans of free man. The communists are talking, as I already mentioned, about democracy. What they have in mind is democracy to hate the others, the freedom to take a position against the opponent. I mean, you know very well, that this democracy demonstrated itself best during the Second World War. We gave Soviet Union fourteen billion dollars and in 1947 STALIN identified this nation as if the United States was an ally of HITLER. Now how far can you go and not recognize that between communist theory and reality there is a tremendous difference. I wish those people who are demonstrating against our government would

recognize the fact that this nation demobilized all their military forces in 1945, they returned home, and the Soviets never demobilized and the communists in the United States were very, very hopeful that the red army would move into Europe and take Europe, they are accusing now STALIN that he didn't take advantage of the situation and so on. I wish these people who are sincerely dedicated to peace would realize that peace does not depend on us alone. Peace if it would depend on us alone would be a permanent thing in the humanity (interruption by DONNER): One second, it does not depend on us, it depends on the decision of the Kremlin, and those decisions we cannot alter, Mr. DONNER, we cannot alter the decisions of Mr. KHRUSHCHEV.

DONNER: Are you seriously suggesting that the rights of Americans to protest their government depend on something that KHRUSHCHEV does? Now I don't think that my rights or Mrs. MC KENZIE's rights, who was asked these ridiculous questions about 1937, should depend on what you think of KHRUSHCHEV. Why don't you deal with my problem? (Interruption by PAPP) Let me finish. I'm saying that it is wrong and outrageous for the House Committee on Un-American Activities to call a woman and ask her about something that happened 25 years ago as though she was an enemy of the country and a traitor. Now that is the question that I want you to answer, Do you think that's right?

PAPP: She might have been. Now if I would be called before the Un-American Activities Committee I would take the first plane and I would be proud and I would know that here I am, what do you want from me. There is a possibility always to argue, nobody puts anybody in jail because of the conviction of ideas. It is the problem to identify those elements in our society who would destroy the very foundation of our freedom, and I am against the right of those people to have the same democratic privileges as the majority 95 percent majority of American people who want nothing in this world but peace, freedom, and freedom from fear.

(Lengthy silence on tape)

DONNER: The authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is confined to investigating facts which will help Congress pass laws. Now the point that I was

making in my book was that in the 25, now 27, years that the House has been a standing committee, it is responsible for exactly two laws. And that this long train of exposure hearings, as I call them in my book, have only one purpose, to hurt people, not to help Congress pass laws, but to bring people before them and to ruin them by seeking to smear them by putting their addresses on the record and so on. Another thing that the House Committee does, which is clearly outside their jurisdiction, is create propaganda, the House Committee is the biggest propaganda publication agency in this country. It is responsible for more of this red mania than any other agency. Now in a democracy the people create propaganda, not the government. The government is the representative of the people. This is characteristic of totalitarianism and I make the point in my book and I make it also in connection with this film, "Operation Abolition", that a committee of Congress has no authority, no matter how much you like their propaganda, we have to deal with the fact that we're a government of limited powers.

MORGAN: Let me ask you this, you say there has not been appreciable amounts of legislation passed which was the function of this Committee or a by-product function, but the FBI then would be, let's see if we can get an agreement on this, qualified, authorized, to perform much of the same activities. Now these...

DONNER: Now I would just like to amend it by saying the Committee has usurped the functions of the FBI and taking over functions that properly belong to the FBI.

MORGAN: Would you have any objection to the same thing that is being done, some of the same things being done by the Committee, being performed by the FBI?

DONNER: I certainly would object to the FBI holding hearings or becoming a propaganda agency because I think that's not the function of any police agency. In a police state that happens, but we live in a democracy and it shouldn't happen here.

MORGAN: Alright, let me ask Dr. PAPP, then, would it be objectionable from your standpoint, Dr. PAPP, if the FBI were left alone to handle this communist menace rather than the method used by the House Un-American Activities Committee?

PAPP: The aims, the powers, the duties of Un-American Activities Committee is entirely different from that of FBI. The Committee on Un-American Activities are as a whole or by sub-committees, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of first, the extent, character and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States. Secondly, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle, mind you, of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and thirdly, all other questions in relation that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation. Mind you, this Committee, any American who feels that he is punished by appearing before Un-American Activities Committee is somehow a frustrated American because if he really has nothing, nothing to do with this subversive activities in the United States coming from the foreign country, I don't see how he can be hurt.

DONNER: Where have you been in the past ten years? You admitted before that there were people that were hurt, but you said they were hurt by communism and that's ridiculous.

PAPP: You know, indeed, because I know of so many individuals who went to the Un-American Activities Committee and they are in fact heroes today and they were harrassed by the communists because they honestly declared that they are not any more the communists and they give testimony what is the position of the communist on the youth, on various aspects of our life.

DONNER: You seriously deny that hundreds of people have been harrassed, have lost their jobs, have been driven with violence out of plants and shops, have been blacklisted, because they appeared before...You deny that?

PAPP: No, I don't deny that there might have been mistakes committed, but I want you to know that most of those people who do not have anything to, who are loyal American citizens, they don't have to fear anything from Un-American Activities Committee because this Committee is taking very seriously this law of our nation and as long as you are distrusting that agency you are distrusting our lawmaking, our Congress.

DONNER: I don't agree with that at all.

MORGAN: A lawyer told me once, and I say there's an application here. Let me just throw this out to be kicked around by anyone, AL, or DR. PAPP or Mr. DONNER, that he would rather see 100 guilty men go free than see one innocent man convicted. Is there an application here perhaps?

PAPP: The Un-American Activities Committee does not convict people, does not send them to jail, does not have any function of courts. It just help us to understand better the conspiracy of communism which is a part of our life and will remain with us as long as there is a communist empire in existence. And therefore this Un-American Activities Committee's primary function is to alert the majority, the 95 percent of American people to the dangers we are facing, and I don't doubt that in crisis these 10,000 communists would do a tremendous damage to this nation with the help of their stooges who do not understand what the nature of communism is.

DONNER: And with the FBI's undercover agents who have infiltrated them. Now you see you have made one serious error when you say that the House Committee doesn't find anybody guilty. That's precisely what it does. It directs its powers and its process against individuals. What happened here in Cleveland when they had these hearings? It actually released the names of the subpoenaed people in advance, many of them lost their jobs, and one victim had previously been victimized the year before by a similar leak of his name. So don't tell me that the House Committee is merely conducting an impartial investigation into facts. As a matter of fact, what new facts did it get, I'd like to ask you, what new fact did this Cleveland investigation give the House Committee that it hadn't uncovered before.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, I would not sacrifice the freedom of 95 percent Americans to protect few who might have been even hurt in the process.

DONNER: So you don't even agree with the basic American principle that you shouldn't hurt even one person.

PAPP: I wouldn't use American principles to protect those who sold themselves as a foreign agent.



DONNER: Well, you're just condemning them in advance, which is in violation of another principle.

PAPP: How do you want to find out the man is suspect, that he is an agent of a foreign power, he is a communist? How do you expect the public of the United States to find out. Do you want really the right of FBI to do and persecute the man or should he have a chance to really declare himself?

DONNER: I don't think that the House Committee and its members are in any way equipped to make the kind of political judgments you're talking about.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER...

DONNER: I think these people are extreme in their premises. You see, you talk about communists, but to the House Committee half the country are communists.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, in our nation the man is innocent until proven guilty.

DONNER: Unless he's called by the House Committee...

PAPP: Until he is prove guilty. And then it's up to him, up to the Committee, up to the whole nation to prove the man guilty, then he is guilty. In the Soviet Union is a man guilty as soon as he is identified as an enemy of the people?

DONNER: Well, well I, well...

PAPP: So you see we have principles.

DONNER: Well, I'm suggesting to you that we find people guilty. The House Committee finds people guilty without a hearing and on the basis of the most distorted and false standards conceivable.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, you know...

DONNER: And I think if you made an intensive investigation of what the House Committee does and the kind of people it subpoenas and what happens to them, more lives have been ruined by this Committee, more people have suffered the most horrible psychological injury as well as economic

injury than any single organ of government in our time. And for you to tell me about all these principles which the House Committee should observe in practice but always ignores, why you're just talking about something...

PAPP: I just say it is not up to you or to me or any individual citizen to decide the destiny of the Un-American Activities Committee. It is up to the Congress.

DONNER: Oh how wrong you are. As long as I have a breath to breathe I'm going to tell my Congressman and I going to tell my friends and my neighbors that this is a bad Committee. This is a democracy...

PAPP: Very good, very good.

DONNER: As a matter of fact Congress frequently passes many bad laws, as you know.

PAPP: I know.

DONNER: And I say that this is one of the most degradiously bad laws ever passed. Congress passed a fugitive slave law. No one is proud of that. There are many laws that Congress passes. Our legislators are not gods. What they say is not endowed with a supernatural infallibility.

MORGAN: What about the First and Fifth Amendments? Now how does this fit into this? Suppose someone refuses to answer on the grounds of taking the protection offered by the First and Fifth Amendments. And is there not a pall of guilt over them by refusing to answer? Dr. PAPP?

PAPP: I would simply say that a decent American who is not frustrated about formalities would not have any difficulty going before any committee, and 95 percent of Americans would not have any problem.

MORGAN: What if they do take the Fifth Amendment?

PAPP: They take the Amendment, it is a part of our law, they have the right to it and then we have to prove their guilt somehow through evidence and this is what is being done.

DONNER: Oh, no, it's part of our law and the Supreme Court has so ruled that when a person pleads the Fifth Amendment

no inference of guilt can be drawn from it. Now you have proceeded on the premise that somehow when a person takes the Fifth Amendment he is guilty of something. You suggested that he is a foreign agent and in the same breath you profess dedication to our Constitution and our democracy, well, it's part of our democracy.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, knowing the communist's philosophy I know they would do anything in order to protect themselves.

DONNER: But you said people should be convicted by evidence, not by what you know.

PAPP: Anything, but the communists would protect themselves by the very law they want to destroy. This is our problem. -I don't know how to solve all this problem.

DONNER: But what you get back to is that you've made an out-of-hand condemnation of these people and what you've said is they deserve what happens to them even though the Committee abuses its power.

(End of first tape).

DONNER: The Supreme Court has decided that the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, on its face, is not unconstitutional. It said in that decision we are not concerned with the wisdom of that law, we are merely concerned with its constitutionality. Then the question was raised as to whether or not the compulsory registration features of the law, the law that requires the Communist Party to register and Communist Party members to register, is invalid under the Fifth Amendment as a violation of the privilege against self-incrimination. The Supreme Court on that point ruled that it would only decide that question when an actual registration order was in effect. That registration order subsequently issued and there is now on the brink of a series of court cases, the second question, namely, whether or not this compulsory registration act is in violation of the law and, contrary to what Dr. PAPP has said, the Supreme Court has explicitly said it is not a violation of the law to be a communist or to be a member of the Communist Party, and authorities have agreed that to outlaw the Communist Party, you know, in toto, would be in violation of the First Amendment. The Supreme Court has so said.

MORGAN: Well, on this specific point then, as I stated, Dr. PAPP what do you say?

PAPP: Well, I have a feeling that Mr. DONNER is, of course, right, legalistic grounds. The Communist Party of the United States was found guilty of being an agency of the foreign power and as such...

MORGAN: Found guilty by whom?

PAPP: By Supreme Court.

DONNER: Oh, that isn't true, you're entirely mistaken. The Supreme Court expressly said we are not ruling on the merits, we merely rule that the statute is not constitutional.

PAPP: But the ruling was based on the investigation that this is the case. Because if the Communist Party would have declared itself to be national American party without having any ties with a foreign power there would be absolutely no case.

MORGAN: This seems to be the basic disagreement then.

PAPP: There would be no case.

DONNER: Oh, you're mistaken.

PAPP: I don't believe Supreme Court or Un-American Activities Committee would...

DONNER: Are you saying that the Supreme Court outlawed the Communist Party?

PAPP: No, I don't say, just identified it as such, that after all there is some truth to it that the Communist Party is a link between foreign power and the movement in America.

DONNER: Now you may know all about KHRUSHCHEV and all about things he's doing, but I think I know what the Supreme Court has been doing.

PAPP: Why do they persecute the Communist Party then?

DONNER: And I explained to you that all that the Supreme Court ruled was that the findings are not in conflict with the First Amendment, but the Supreme Court did not rule, as we lawyers say, on the merits.

MORGAN: Do they have to, do they have to rule?

DONNER: Ultimately it will have to rule on them.

MORGAN: But in the meantime, what happens?

DONNER: In the meantime there's a registration procedure and that registration procedure is being resisted.

MORGAN: But it is law.

DONNER: Oh it is law.

MORGAN: This is the point, I think, then, that can resolve the conflict, that as long as it is law and as long as, again, let me state the second part of this, is the Communist Party not dedicated to the overthrow of the government of the United States. Do we know this to be fact or not?

JAMES: I don't think Mr. DONNER would agree with that.

PAPP: Is not dedicated?

MORGAN: I'm asking this.

JAMES: That seems to be the basic disagreement here.

DONNER: Well, you mean is dedicated to the overthrow, you know, that these people are committed to violence now?

MORGAN: Right.

DONNER: Well, the answer is no. I don't agree with that and I don't think that any Marxist scholar would agree to it.

JAMES: How about eventually if not now.

DONNER: Well, of course, the communists have a doctrine which has been changed many times. You know this thing is not a static business. We've had Stalinism, we've had KHRUSHCHEV, we now have a tremendous conflict among communists about what their doctrine is or isn't, with of course this big conflict between the Chinese and the Russians. Now I don't, my impression is, and I concede that I'm not an expert, is that communist doctrine has drastically changed and they insist that they can come into power by peaceful means. So that I would deny, you see, that there is any judgment that can be made today on the basis of what the communists say and do; that they pose a threat to our government.

MORGAN: Dr. PAPP, let me ask you about this.

PAPP: The long-range objectives of the communists is the overthrow, violent or peaceful, of the constitutional government of the United States. The method might change. The aim remains the same. And this was restated at the 20th, 21st, 22nd Party Congress in Moscow...

DONNER: But Dr. PAPP...

PAPP: ...where other communists from the United States participated. Hence the long-range objective is and they say and they indeed are very specific that this might be a violent overthrow or peaceful. If the people of the United States will surrender then there is no risk to the communist, you see. If they will have to use the violent overthrow of the government then it is a risk to the communist world, hence they would prefer peaceful change. I hope that we will recognize that there are those long-

range objectives which already led to the occupation and of the terrorization of one billion people in the world and the method to be used to get the United States...

DONNER: But they said, have they not, that they envisage the possibility of peaceful change. I thought that you said that.

PAPP: Of course, I say this, and hence no risk to them. The violent overthrow would...

MORGAN: What about the American Communist Party?

PAPP: The American Communist Party consistently followed the advice from Moscow, and those communists who might have disagreed with STALIN and now with KHRUSHCHEV are immediately removed from the leading positions.

DONNER: Well, of course, KHRUSHCHEV and STALIN didn't agree with each other, did they?

PAPP: Not during STALIN's life, they did agree.

DONNER: But after.

PAPP: Well that man is no more dangerous, you know, you can disagree with a dead man, always.

MORGAN: Let me throw something else now here, we have just a few moments left here on this discussion. Again, referring to your book, Mr. FRANK DONNER, "The Un-Americans" on page 35, and this is only involved in our discussion because it involves a person who is a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, not a member, but he was the head during this time and I think the people involved in this Committee really are of concern to us because it's the people who make up the Committee. Let me just see what discussion we can get going on this quote, it was made in 1950. Mr. VELDE of Illinois, I believe, who was then the head of the Committee. They were talking about library services, there was a bill before the Congress apparently; library service in rural areas. Mr. VELDE opposed this because, and now this will all be quoted now Educating Americans through the means of the library service could bring about a change of their political attitude quicker than any other method.

The basis of communism and socialistic influence is education of the people. If we are opposed to socialism in America as we say we are, we must all conscientiously oppose this bill.

PAPP: If it is true it's a sheer nonsense.

DONNER: Well of course it's true, and this Chairman VELDE simply reflects the thinking of these people who see communism in libraries, in universities, among the youth, among the people who are churchgoers, and who believe in the social gospel, they see communism all over because they say, well why should we wait until someone has all of the characteristics of communist belief, let's move now. Remember it was VELDE who subpoenaed President TRUMAN and who subpoenaed then Chief Justice CLARK. Now this is the kind, you see, of expansion and distortion of this concept of communism...

MORGAN: Well, I think this is a ...

DONNER: ...which really has made the Committee such a menace to American freedom.

MORGAN: I think this is a point that you mentioned. Alright Mr. TRUMAN was subpoenaed. Well he refused, did he not. He had the freedom to refuse...

DONNER: Of course, because he had Executive immunity.

MORGAN: How about Mr. BURNS? He also refused.

DONNER: Of course, but the point is that the ordinary fellow who's subpoenaed doesn't have that kind of immunity. He can't...

MORGAN: I couldn't refuse?

DONNER: You certainly couldn't. If you're subpoenaed you can go to jail. You'd have a choice, but you can go to jail in refusing because you'd be in contempt of the Committee and many people have gone to jail. There's a current case now of HARVEY O'CONNOR who was subpoenaed or refused to go and is now being tried for contempt.

PAPP: They were sent to jail after court procedure, however, and I would like to say to stress that there was a case



in Detroit where five communists were sentenced to five years in our American prisons and were given an option to go to the Soviet Union, they preferred our prisons.

DONNER: But that has nothing to do with what we are talking about.

PAPP: Nothing to do, of course not. Let me just say I wish that those people who are dedicated to preserve our free institutions would be as dedicated as the communists are to the promotion of the communist slavery. I would be satisfied.

DONNER: I would agree with you a hundred percent.

MORGAN: I can't believe it.

(laughter)

DONNER: I agree that what we're lacking in this country is a more deep-rooted dedication to the ideals of freedom and a great disregard of the extent to which, in practice, we violate our ideals of freedom.

MORGAN: May I first get your permission, Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, to use the tape we're about to do on the air and broadcast same?

PAPP: Yes, indeed.

MORGAN: And Mr. FRANK DONNER, may we have your permission to use the following tape on the air?

DONNER: Certainly.

(silence)

MORGAN: Right now on Program PM, something that we ever so often get ourselves in, not a formal debate or anything like that. We're not going to have answers and then two minutes for someone else to reply. Just let's call it a good American discussion type program coming up right now. And we're going to be concerning ourselves primarily with the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee. And there'll be many by-products of this discussion. Discussing it with ~~me~~ will be Mr. FRANK DONNER, who wrote the book "The Un-Americans", and who has been a counsel for a number of years for the CIO and is also an attorney and who specializes in civil liberties and has tried many cases involving the First Amendment. And also discussing this will be Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, whom you've heard on Program PM several times before, last year with our "Patterns in Red" series. Dr. PAPP is the Head of the Institute for Soviet Studies at John Carroll University. And also, AL JAMES of Program PM, taking the part that I'm sort of taking in a way, just an American citizen concerned with the activities of any arm of our government. Now just to get it rolling let me ask first if everyone would just agree in principle that we need not have any two minute statements and two minute answers and let's just talk, and if we come to blows, well we're all about four-five feet from each other and I don't think we'll have that problem. Alright?

PAPP: Fine.

DONNER: I think that will work out.

MORGAN: Mr. DONNER, I spent a good part of last night and the wee hours of this morning reading your book and I found

it quite disturbing to this degree. That if true, if all the charges, and I didn't finish the book, I didn't have time, but I read about a third of it and skimmed the rest of it, if the charges in here are true, I think that I or anyone else would be a little disturbed at the suppression of freedom. Now let me take it from there. Is this your feeling? Do you feel that freedoms are being suppressed?

DONNER: Yes, I do, and I suppose that really gets to the core of my concern about the Committee and why I wrote the book in the first place. You know we fill the airwaves of the world with boasts of how free we are. We stockpile missiles in the name of freedom. We develop new refinements of nuclear weaponry, all in the name of freedom. And yet, I believe we're as unfree as rarely before. I think there is a growing gap between our professions and our practices. We don't do at home all the glowing things that we say we stand for abroad. And of course I believe that one of the prime, although of course, not the exclusive cause or sources of this pervasive kind of restraint is the House Committee and what it has done. Now at an appropriate time I'd like to document that.

MORGAN: Well, let's start the appropriate time right now.

(silence)

MORGAN: Alright, let's get this record straight then. I was going to save it for later, but since you mentioned it, Mr. DONNER. One of the things that you're opposed to is the lack of an opportunity for a person to really face the accusers and give their own answers. Let me tell you what I've been up against for the past day. When I first knew that you were going to visit us on Program PM, first I heard: Well, he appeared before a committee; he was an admitted communist; he was an admitted former communist. Then, and trying to get people to appear with you so that we could have an intelligent conversation because I certainly am not qualified to take either side of this issue, I ran across arguments like this: Would you, Mr. Blank, join us in a round table discussion about the Un-American Activities Committee? I won't appear on the same show with that red, or that commie. This is what I've been faced with. These are the things that are being said. Now let me ask you as they would in the committees we're talking about. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

DONNER: You see, I think that's a grossly improper question and I'll tell you why. You see, I think that Americans have become as a result of all this hysteria, a nation of finger pointers. We are not interested in hearing an argument. We're interested in either hurling or dodging epithets, and this to me is the reverse of democracy. We don't - in our society we protect the right of dissent. The right to dissent, the right to give expression to your views, doesn't depend on the identity of the speaker. It would be a terrible thing, would it not, if before anybody had access to the mass media he had to swear an oath of political loyalty, or he had to affirm that he was a hundred fifty percent patriotic American. We don't do that. As a matter of fact there was a time in our country when people who were forced to identify themselves were harrassed and stoned and beaten so that we make a sharp distinction between the right to speak and the right to hold your political views in private. As a matter of fact, you know very well that the right to, that participating in elections is protected by the cloak of anonymity and privacy. That you receive many publications, I know I do, that are wrapped in plain brown wrappers, so that other people won't know what you think or what you believe.

MORGAN: I'm surprised that you read those magazines.

DONNER: No, the point is that I don't think a man's politics is anybody's business.

MORGAN: Alright, let me make this statement, then. When you're asked this before a Committee like that and if you answer or refuse to answer, there is automatically an aura of guilt. But the difference in my asking, I think, is that most portions of Program PM, it is tape recorded, and I will always give any person the right to request that that portion, that question, that entire area be taken and clipped out with a pair of scissors. Now we'll give you that option, would you rather we take this whole last portion out?

DONNER: Oh, not at all.

MORGAN: And you still do not want to answer?

DONNER: Well, I think it is irrelevant.

MORGAN: Not for any other reason?

DONNER: As a matter of fact the public record shows that I denied this under oath. But that's not the point.

MORGAN: This is what I wanted you to say.

DONNER: That's not the point. See, the point is that I think and the reaction of people whom you asked to appear on the program illustrated what I mean. People say we are for or against the House Un-American Activities Committee, but we don't want to argue with Mr. DONNER because we think he's unclean. Now to me this is barbaric, and as a matter of fact it mocks our pretensions of freedom when we present ourselves to the world as a free people and yet we have these terribly fear-ridden modes conducting discussion. This just doesn't make sense to me.

(silence)

MORGAN: On Program PM, discussing "The Un-Americans", the activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee, we're just involved in a discussion of some of the activities of the Committee. I would like to find out something, though, first, from Mr. DONNER. We've heard a lot about the Walter-McCarran Act. Now, I bring this up because - is Mr. WALTER still the head of this Committee?

DONNER: He's head of the Immigration Sub-Committee of the House Judiciary Committee, and one of the co-sponsors of the Walter-McCarran Act.

MORGAN: Now who is the current head of the Un-American Activities Committee now?

DONNER: Chairman WALTER, he's head of both.

MORGAN: That's what I thought, yes. What is this Walter-McCarran Act? What does it provide?

DONNER: Well, it is a newly enacted, recently newly, it's been on the books for about nine or ten years, law which places political tests on immigration and imposes rather what people have called a racial origin test on quotas of people coming in here, and this law, by the way, has been widely denounced. As a matter of fact, Cardinal

CUSHING, whom no one could accuse, of course, of being a communist, said that it's a fascist law. It adopts the fascist principle of race. Now this is the product of the same man and the same mind, you see, who runs this House Un-American Activities Committee.

MORGAN: But has not this man been accused of being soft on fascism.

DONNER: Who?

MORGAN: WALTER, the whole Committee. Soft on fascism, hard on communism.

(silence)

MORGAN: I would like to add some fuel to this in just a moment, but first we have to pause for this message.

(silence)

MORGAN: Mr. DONNER, I know you have a reply to this, I would like to add a question of my own, perhaps, and put this to both of you. In your book you bring out the fact that the purpose for which the Un-American Activities Committee was founded is one of duplicity in a way that we already have the FBI and agencies such as that, I imagine others, who are supposed to be doing the very same job except on a more official status than is being done by the Un-American Activities Committee. Would you kind of agree with that and add to whatever you were going to say?

DONNER: Well, you see, the purpose of the FBI is primarily law enforcement and counter espionage. It's the function of the FBI is to investigate whether a crime has been committed and to determine whether there are in our country potential spies and saboteurs. That's clearly within their authority.

(silence)

MORGAN: Let me ask you this - OK, go on.

JAMES: What would happen in the Un-American Activities Committee were disbanded tomorrow? Dr. PAPP, would the communist conspiracy then grow to the point...

PAPP: I don't know if it would grow. I would say that the function of the Un-American Activities Committee would have to be taken over by some other agency...

JAMES: Well, the FBI, as we said before...

PAPP: ...to look into the matter. FBI feels that it cannot take over the function of supervising the un-American propaganda in this country. They have to stick to the problems, they have plenty of work to do. And they cannot supervise also these activities. You would be surprised how these elements in our society would then shout if it would not be legislature, if it would be FBI. In fact the whole - when you take a position against Un-American Activities Committee necessarily you are taking cause against FBI. You know, this goes parallel, as far as I can judge.

MORGAN: Mr. DONNER.

DONNER: I feel first that it would be a wonderful thing for our whole country if this Committee were abolished, that we would again regain a national equilibrium of freedom and tolerance. We wouldn't be looking for reds under every bed. We wouldn't arm the fanatical ultra-rights with these tracks. We wouldn't give them a voice in Congress. We would abolish the practice of surveilling innocent people and keeping dosiers on them. I think it would be a landmark in the restoration of our freedom if the House Committee were abolished.

MORGAN: You think the Communist Party would then grow?

DONNER: I don't think, I think that under our system a political movement grows or fails on the basis of its appeal to people and what the implication of the House Un-American Activities Committee is is that we can't trust people to choose or reject communism and we need an agency of government to repress a political movement and political ideas. Now this to me is in fundamental conflict with the values by which we're supposed to live as a people. And to me I hope the day will come soon when Americans will realize that in order to be free you can't have governmental restraints on political ideas.

MORGAN: We just have about one minute left for this. We would like to record another session. But in the one minute left, since we started with you, Mr. DONNER, I'd like to give Dr. PAPP a chance.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, you just made a very good point because I wanted to know if this Un-American Activities Committee would be abolished you would have a tremendous increase of ultra-right movements in America who would take upon themselves to charge the problem about communism, and certainly you would like to avoid that, because here at least we have a guarantee that the legislators are doing their best not to harm the citizens who are voting for them, voting for them, for the Congress. If this is abolished, you have in every community two-three movements which would take upon themselves the role of arbitrator and also this would increase the vigilante movements and it would be very, very bad for this country.

MORGAN: I'm sure there's a lot more to say on both sides and I think the last hour here on Program PM has been a sort of America in practice as far as freedom of speech. We've certainly had freedom of speech for this last hour and tomorrow night on Program PM we'll be discussing this same topic further, the Un-American Activities Committee, the function, purpose, operation thereof, and also as it cannot help but be a part of it, the subject of communism. And this evening on this discussion Dr. PAPP from the Institute for Soviet Studies at John Carroll University, Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, I should say, and Mr. FRANK DONNER, the author of the book "The Un-Americans", and also noted attorney and for many years consultant with the CIO; and AL JAMES of KYW Program PM, joining me on this discussion.

(end)



MORGAN: If you were with us last night on Program PM, you know we were discussing the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the springboard, so to speak, for discussion concerned the charges, accusations, etc. made in the book called "The Un-Americans" written by Mr. FRANK J. DONNER, who has been, had been for a number of years a consultant, legal consultant, to the CIO, and has been a practicing attorney for a large number of years, and also on our panel was Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, the Head of the Institute of Soviet Studies at John Carroll University, and KYW's AL JAMES. And it's just sort of an informal discussion. And to get this underway let me sort of springboard this now. I'm thinking of two writers down through the years, one of them back in the 1780s by the name of THOMAS PAINE, who wrote a book called "Common Sense." I'm thinking of another writer, to bring it close to home right here to Cleveland, a man at the end of the last century whose offsprings and several generations have been big newspaper people, the BELLAMY family. EDWARD BELLAMY, who wrote "Looking Backwards" and was considered at the time very extremely socialistic. The book was, and yet we see that in that book the things he talked about, most of them have come true, this is the system and the way we're living this day, but at the time, again bringing up the point in reference to the time in which we're living, this man was considered to be quite dangerous. Now both of these writers, let's just throw it on the table, might it not be in years to come that people who are considered radical today might have been right? I'm asking. Mr. DONNER?

DONNER: Well, of course, history is full of examples of people who were pilloried in their own time and who were subsequently vindicated. We don't have any way of so accurately measuring truth that we can afford ever to deny a voice to the people we disagree with because today's dissenters may well be the voice of the majority tomorrow. And what gives our society its special dynamism is precisely that, precisely because we try to make room for the people who are not in conformity with all the values in the premises of their time. What I feel though is that we always think that our time is different. I'm sure this was true of all other ages. This notion which is very current today that, as one scholar put it, the present isn't history. That somehow we live in a special emergency period during which all

bets are off, all the traditional rules by which our society has agreed to govern itself have somehow to be modified or abrogated, and I don't think anyone can deny that this kind of thinking is very much in the air. This kind of thinking that we live in a time of such special peril that we're so menaced by our political environment, if you will, that we can't afford the luxury of tolerating the non-conformist and the dissenter.

JAMES: How about Germany back in the thirties when a small band of Nazis enslaved a whole nation. How do you make that fit in with your philosophy?

DONNER: Well, you see HITLER also managed to create the feeling, you see, that the times were too threatening to permit the expression of dissent.

JAMES: Well, don't you think that the German government should have taken steps at the time to nip this Nazi movement in the bud. Or do you think it would have been wrong...

DONNER: I think that what happened, of course, in the Nazi movement, and I'm sure Dr. PAPP will agree, the Nazi movement was a movement which was based on violence, not as an ideological premise but as an immediate direct tactic. The putsch, you know, the thrown bomb, the provocation, these were the bywords of Nazi political behavior.

MORGAN: I don't think that's the question AL meant, though, and I think perhaps the answer might be that the structure of the government was not as well suited as the structure of our government is to prevent something like that. Would you perhaps agree with that in answer to AL's question?

DONNER: Well, the Weimar Republic certainly was a weak government.

MORGAN: It wasn't the structure.

PAPP: Now I think that here is a very good point worth your stressing. That here is an example where the majority of the people didn't care one way or another, and they listened to these slogans of the minority which were identified with the wishful thinking of the people and they failed to understand that once Nazi dictatorship is established they will be silenced. In fact I would

say that intellectuals in Germany were guilty of non-committal position. They did not want to take a stand against this movement as our intellectuals in the United States sometimes fail to take a stand against the totalitarian-minded movement of communist. This is very, there is a similarity.

(many voices at once at this point)

PAINE: Returning to PAINE and BELLAMY, I would say that both of these writers somehow reflect the peaceful change, and indeed 20th Century is different from 19th Century. This is one of the reasons that communism does not appeal any more to so many people because 20th Century demonstrated clearly that man, who possessed the means of production, is also willing to compromise and to really, to establish a society where all share and where all have a decent living standard. I would say that 20th Century demonstrated that human beings are capable, if they want, to improve conditions without revolutionary upheavals. And those people did not advocate revolutionary changes by force. Communists do. And the Nazis did.

DONNER: I just want to add one thing to this discussion of the Nazi background. The Nazi, the German government and its experiences with democracy were relatively fragile. There wasn't a strong tradition of democracy in Germany. The republic in its various aspects had come into being with BISMARCK and the Germans have always been or certainly parts of the German people have always been politically infatuated with authoritarianism, and so I think that HITLER's seed fell on relatively fertile soil. It was a kind of doctrine which did not shock Germans because they had no strong dedication to democracy. I'll go along with what Dr. PAPP said about the apathy, but I would like to add that we're watching the spread of a similar and frightening apathy in our own country. I feel that there are many people who are disturbed about the increasing shrinkage of freedom in the way we run our government and in the way our institutions operate.

MORGAN: But is there really a shrinkage of freedom, though, and thinking back over this very same country we're talking about, namely ours, has not this little thing known as a vote, I mean when the country was first started

how few, I was reading the other day the figures, in the lower thousands, three or four thousand people were allowed to vote, only this very small minute minority. Well has this not been expanded rather than withdrawn, as you say?

DONNER: Well, of course, suffrage has been expanded, but let me give you an instance of something that disturbed me all the way back in New York and which I don't think caused a particular stir here, and that is the censorship issue at Ohio State University. Here, you recall last year, certain speakers were barred from the campus on the say-so of the president of the university. Now this was shocking to me and shocking to many of the academic people that I associate with, that in a university which is supposedly the best haven of freedom, academic freedom, that the authorities should assert the right to shield the students from speakers which were regarded by the authorities as dangerous or subversive.

MORGAN: Who were the speakers, may I ask?

DONNER: The speakers, there were three speakers, and one of them was a graduate student from the University of California named BERTON WHITE.

MORGAN: What were their axes to grind? This is the main thing.

DONNER: Well, alright, they were going to speak, I think, I'm not sure of this, as I recall it they were going to speak about the House Committee. Then there was a man named CLARK FORMAN, who is the head of an organization called the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. And a fellow named PHILIP ABBOTT LUCE, who was FORMAN's assistant and had formerly been a graduate student at the university.

MORGAN: Do these organizations still use the words of the Un-American Activities Committee quote red fronts end quote?

DONNER: Well, no. You see within the praiseworthy premises of this whole security business and classification, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was never on the Attorney General's list. It was never found to be a communist front by any government agency. It was never found to be a communist front by the House Committee itself, you

see, and on the basis of that fact the president of a great American university said I don't trust these people to speak on the campus, that they should be shielded from this kind of talk. They're not intellectually mature enough and, I think I'm quoting him now, to hear their talk. He didn't know what they were going to say. And by the way, the head of the organization had denied under oath that he was a communist. That is Mr. FORMAN. Now, and this just to me is a reflection. The fact that it happened is bad enough, but the fact that there shouldn't have been a state-wide movement of protest that you don't do this kind of thing in a university was deeply disturbing to me.

MORGAN: Dr. PAPP.

PAPP: Was there a state-wide movement when the Hungarian intellectuals were massacred and hanged, was there a state-wide movement when Cuba became an arsenal of communists, and so on? I would say this, I do not completely agree with the position taken by the president of Ohio University. I do, however, feel that he as the president has the responsibility for his university, and he judged. He didn't say that he would prevent them from talking. He said that he would not allow the communists to present their distorted views on the communist world to the young minds who do not have an opportunity to really know the reality behind the slogans they are using.

DONNER: Are you suggesting that there was proof that any of these people were communists? I don't concede for a moment...

PAPP: He didn't identify the persons. He said that...

DONNER: Well, I know who the persons were, you know who they were.

PAPP: One second, Mr. DONNER, yes, but you see here is the situation. He said he would not allow communists. Why did these individuals immediately jump the guns. Were they guilty of belonging to the Communist Party?

DONNER: Oh, you're, I'm sorry. With all due respect to you, you have misstated the facts. I've made a study of the file and I know what happened. Dr. FAUCET, the president of the university, did not say that these people were

communists. He simply said that first that Dr. FORMAN was head of an organization which had been condemned by the House Committee.

PAPP: That's what I mean. He didn't say that they are communists.

DONNER: So why did he bar them from the campus then. Why did he bar them from the campus.

PAPP: He probably had an information that they might be communists.

DONNER: That they might be communists?

PAPP: Well maybe he had documentary evidence that they were.

DONNER: Well he never produced it. You know this to me shows what a dangerous pass we've come to when one man can decide what other people ought to hear, not on the basis of anything that is publicly known but on the basis of what to speculate he might have thought.

PAPP: Mr. DONNER, you are using legalistic methods too often. I would say this, that these are little problems and they can be solved in a free discussion. We are talking about the basic problem, the challenge to our liberty by communism, and if I may return to the difference or similarity between Naziism and communism, the only difference in practice and in philosophy between Naziism and communism is that Naziism endorsed racial concepts, the communists are endorsing the so-called internationalist concept, but they kill the individual who wants to be free the same way. They are dead, both are dead.

DONNER: You see, I don't agree.

MORGAN: I would like to go beyond definition of terms now, we mentioned fascism and communism. Let me ask you this, Mr. DONNER, incorporate if you can with the answer. I think we have to get in the remaining minutes we have left back to a rock-bottom basic question of all of this. Even though we're talking about the Un-American Activities Committee, communism has entered into it so much. We're dealing with, as you say, I quote your figures of yesterday, approximately, or Mr. HOOVER's figures of yesterday, 10,000 communists in America.

Alright, let me ask you this, though, in order to clarify Dr. PAPP's stand that after all these people are dedicated to Moscow. Now are we not all in agreement on the fact that the Supreme Court has decided that it is against the law that a person cannot belong to a party dedicated to the overthrow of the American government. Now is this right so far?

DONNER: No.

MORGAN: It is not, alright correct me.

(silence)

MORGAN: Since after the last hour and half of talking I heard the word agree, I think we cannot find a better note to end on. This has been for the last two evenings on Program PM a discussion on the Un-American Activities Committee and by virtue of the fact you can hardly talk about this Committee without talking about communism in general, and the members of the discussion panel have been Mr. FRANK DONNER, the author of the book "The Un-Americans" and Dr. MICHAEL PAPP, the Head of the Institute for Soviet Studies at John Carroll University, and KYW's AL JAMES. This is PM.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>6/18/63</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/2/63 - 6/6/63</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>FRANK JORIS DONNER</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>poc</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SECURITY MATTER - C</b>	

Classified by **2333**  
Exempt from GDS, Category **2**  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

b6  
b7c

## REFERENCE

Report of SA  dated 6/18/62  
at New York.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

## ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that division.

SA  observed the subject's name on the office directory on 5/31/63.

On 4/19/63 NY 694-S\* advised that the CP USA has been requested by the Soviet Union to furnish background information concerning FRANK J. DONNER. According to NY 694-S\*, the Soviets made no explanation concerning their inquiry with regard to DONNER.

(U)

APPROVED  COPIES MADE:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
4 - Bureau (100-25688) (RM) 1 - New Haven (100-14085) (INFO) (RM) 3 - New York (100-11342) COPIES DESTROYED		100-25688-133	2 JUN 21 1963
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DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
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NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

[REDACTED]

(By Request)

NY 100-11342-431 ✓

NY T-2

NY 3401-S\*

NY T-3

[REDACTED]

PSI

(U)

NY T-4

[REDACTED]

Panel Source

NY T-5

[REDACTED]

PSI

NY T-6

[REDACTED]

NY T-7

[REDACTED]

NY 100-11342-391 ✓

NY T-8

Detective [REDACTED]

BSS, NYCPD

(By Request)

NY 100-10769-1B669 P.2 ✓

NY T-9

[REDACTED]

NY T-10

NY 3246-S\*

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NY 100-11342

(U)

The following New York informants, as mentioned in the details, were contacted on the dates indicated.

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacting Agent</u>
<div>PSI <del>✓</del></div> <div>b7D</div> <div></div>	5/3/63	<div></div>
	5/7/63	JOHN HAAG
	5/7/63	JOHN HAAG
	5/9/63	JOHN HAAG
	5/7/63	
	5/7/63	
	5/7/63	
	5/3/63	
	5/3/63	
	5/14/63	

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- C -

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NY 100-11342

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1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☐ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☒ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because (state reason) \_\_\_\_\_ it indicates the FBI has coverage of various front group activities as set out in instant report. If this fact were made public it could be injurious to the national defense, by possibly disclosing the identities of NY T-3, NY T-4, NY T-5, NY T-6, NY T-8 and NY T-9.
8. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) Not Interviewed.  
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of his employment as an attorney and his hostility displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of subject's long history of legal activities on behalf of the CP and CP front organizations which are believed to depict him as an individual who would be against the interests of the U.S. in the event of an emergency.
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.  
☒ Subject's activities ☐ do ☒ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 08-10-2009

## Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:6/18/63b6  
b7C

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.: 100-11342

Bureau File No.: 100-25688

Title: FRANK JORIS DONNER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis: Subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut and is employed as an attorney at 36 W. 44th St., NYC. Subject: was a guest speaker at a CCCL Liberty Forum held 4/26/63; spoke at an ECIC sponsored conference 9/19/62; spoke at a meeting of the Friday Night Forum 12/21/62; received \$400.00 payment from the Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Defense Committee May 1962; attended National Lawyers Guild Anniversary Banquet, NYC, 10/26/62; reportedly to be present at a fund raising party sponsored by NY Council to Abolish HUAC, 4/20/63.

- C -

DETAILSI. BACKGROUNDResidence

On May 17, 1963 NY T-1 advised that FRANK J. DONNER resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut.

~~GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-11342

### Employment

On March 14, 1963 NY T-2 furnished information which reflected that the subject and ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL were practicing law under the firm name of Donner and Piel, 36 West 44th Street, New York City.

On May 31, 1963 a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed the names FRANK J. DONNER Room 1016 and Donner and Piel, Room 1016, on the office directory at 36 West 44th Street, New York City.

Records of the New York County Clerks Office, 60 Centre Street, New York 27, New York as reviewed on March 20, 1961 by Special Agent ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO reflected that a Certificate of Incorporation for the Bill of Rights Fund was filed with the Department of State on January 31, 1961. The Certificate reflected that ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL was listed as a Director of the Bill of Rights Fund until the first annual meeting.

A characterization of the Bill of Rights Fund is contained in the Appendix hereto.

### II. ACTIVITIES IN FURTHERANCE OF THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT

On May 7, 1963 NY T-3 advised that on April 26, 1963 the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties (CCCL) presented a Liberty Forum at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City at 7:30 P.M. NY T-3 said the subject, among others, was a guest speaker at this forum.

A characterization of the CCCL is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On September 20, 1962 NY T-4 advised that on September 19, 1962 a Workshop Conference on the McCarran Act, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) was held at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and 6th Avenue, New York City. NY T-4 said FRANK DONNER spoke at this conference and his main topic was an attack on the McCarran Act.

NY 100-11342

A characterization of the ECIC appears in the Appendix hereto.

On January 2, 1963 NY T-5 advised that FRANK DONNER was the speaker at a session of the Friday Night Forum held in Newark, New Jersey, on December 21, 1962. NY T-5 said DONNER's talk dealt mainly with the right wing movement and their fight against the communists. At one point DONNER referred to that man HOOVER as a strong help to the right movement with his fight against the communists.

A characterization of the Friday Night Forum is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On December 28, 1962 NY T-6 advised that a meeting of the Friday Night Forum was held on December 21, 1962 at the Clinton Manor Annex, 108 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey. NY T-6 said FRANK J. DONNER was the speaker for the evening and his subject was rightist organizations in the United States. (U)

On June 6, 1962 NY T-7 advised that on May 31, 1962 he learned that a payment of \$400.00 was made to FRANK DONNER, lawyer, by the Gus Hall - Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Defense Committee. (C)

A characterization of the Gus Hall - Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Defense Committee is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On November 5, 1962 NY T-8 furnished information which reflected that FRANK DONNER attended the Silver Anniversary Banquet of the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, held on October 26, 1962 in New York City.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On April 12, 1963 NY T-9 advised that she had learned that FRANK DONNER would be present at a fund raising party sponsored by the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to be held on April 20, 1963 in New York City.

A characterization of the NY Council to Abolish HUAC is contained in the Appendix hereto.

NY 100-11342

On November 18, 1962 NY T-10 made available information which reflected that the subject's name, address and telephone number was maintained at that time at the office of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

A characterization of Freedomways Associates, Inc., is contained in the Appendix hereto.

### III. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain New York informants, who are acquainted with certain phases of Communist Party activity in the New York area, advised in May 1963 that the subject is not known to them or that they are not acquainted with his current activities.

NY 100-11342

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APPENDIX

BILL OF RIGHTS FUND

On November 15, 1954, a source made available a mimeographed leaflet dated November 4, 1954, entitled "Announcement of Bill of Rights Funds, CORLISS LAMONT, Chairman." This leaflet reflects that CORLISS LAMONT had set aside \$50,000.00 to initiate a special Bill of Rights Fund, to give assistance to key organizations and enterprises, that are working militantly and uncompromisingly, for American Civil Liberties on the basis that the Bill of Rights should apply impartially to all groups and individuals in the United States; and, to provide financial help in especially significant individual cases involving constitutional issues, in order to assist the victims with their legal defense and to lessen economic pressures on such persons if they have lost their jobs.

On October 22, 1962, a source advised that the captioned Fund continues to be active. The address for the fund is in care of CORLISS LAMONT, 315 West 106th Street, Apartment 15C, New York 25, New York.

LOUIS BUDENZ, a former self-admitted member of the Communist Party (CP), and ex-managing editor of the "Daily Worker," testified in September, 1953, at Washington, D.C., before the United States Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, that he knew CORLISS LAMONT as a member of the CPUSA in the 1930's and 1940's.

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.



1.

APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL  
LIBERTIES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties:

"CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL  
LIBERTIES (NEW YORK CITY)

- "1. 'On the basis of its investigations and hearings to date, the committee concludes that the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and a coordinating and organizing group in support thereof, titled the "Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties," are Communist fronts. Created, dominated, and controlled by members and officials of the Communist Party, the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties were organized as propaganda devices for the conduct of "mass activity" in support of the avowed objective of "reversal or nonapplication" of the Supreme Court decisions of June 5, 1961, which upheld the constitutionality of the registration and disclosure provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as applied to the Communist Party, and the Smith Act membership clause making punishable active and purposive membership in the Communist Party.'

'\* \* \* The long-range objective of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties is to serve as the vehicle for concealed Communist participation in, and direction of, propaganda and agitational activities aimed to nullify the Internal Security and Smith Acts.'

NY 100-11342

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APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL  
LIBERTIES (CONT'D)

\* \* \* Committee investigation disclosed that the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties was formed on or about June 12, 1961 \* \* \*.  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report and Hearings on Manipulation of Public Opinion by Organizations Under Concealed Control of the Communist Party (National Assembly for Democratic Rights and Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties), House Report 1282, Part 1, October 2 and 3, 1961, pp. 137, 143 and

1.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. \* \* \* The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. \* \* \* WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.'

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

\* \* \*'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

- "2. 'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the \* \* \* Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

NY 100-11342

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APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the Secretary of State, New York State Department of State, Albany, New York, reflect that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1962, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "a Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Inc., 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

NY 100-11342

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APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM  
(NEWARK, NEW JERSEY)

A source reported in November, 1960, that a forum for "lefts and progressives" was mentioned as coming into existence at a meeting of New Jersey Communist Party (CP) leaders held in Newark, New Jersey, at the end of October, 1960. DAVID ROCKLIN, known to the source as a CP member, and other active CP members were mentioned as being associated with the effort to establish such a public sounding board.

A second source advised in December, 1960, that a letter had been prepared announcing the organization of the Friday Night Forum and advertising the first meeting as being scheduled for January 20, 1961. The address of the Friday Night Forum Post Office #4034, Newark 12, New Jersey, as well as the name of DAVID ROCKLIN, appeared on this announcing letter. The letter set forth the intention of the Friday Night Forum to present a series of lectures, one each month, at the Continental Ballroom, 982 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, on the "political events of these times" and to feature qualified speakers on such topics as abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), Cuba, Africa, Asia, civil rights, co-existence, national and international events.

A third source advised on May 7, 1962, that the Friday Night Forum of Newark, New Jersey, has presented a series of speakers on such topics as international relations, abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Africa, and Asia, education in the Soviet Union, disarmament, Soviet youth activities and other topics of current interest. These speakers have been presented during 1961 and 1962 at a series of meetings held on Friday evening in Newark, New Jersey at the Continental Ballroom at 982 Broad Street, which series of meetings is currently being held.

NY 100-11342

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APPENDIX

THE GUS HALL-BENJAMIN J. DAVIS  
DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A source advised on March 27, 1962, that GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), stated on March 26, 1962, that the Party will form a new committee known as the GUS HALL - BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Defense Committee (H-DDC). The purpose of this committee is to raise \$100,000 for the defense of HALL and DAVIS.

GUS HALL  
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

HALL and DAVIS were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury, Washington, D.C., on March 15, 1962, charging them with violations of Sections 786 (h) and 794, Title 50, United States Code, in that they, as General Secretary and National Secretary, CPUSA, respectively, and as members of its National Board, willfully and unlawfully failed to register for and on behalf of the CPUSA with the Attorney General.

A second source furnished information on February 12, 1963, that the H-DDC had received a total of \$41,799.18 in contributions for defense as of February 12, 1963.

"The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, issue of April 16, 1963, page 1, carried an appeal by the H-DDC, Room 1225, 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, New York, asking for funds.

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the \* \* \* National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'  
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1.APPENDIXNEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

A second source advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a Communist Party member as of September, 1952.

A third source furnished on September 14, 1961, a copy of resolutions of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) which were adopted by the NYCAHUAC. One such resolution affirmed the intention to continue to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and to continue its efforts to broaden the participation in this fight. Another resolution accepted as a modus vivendi the suggestion of the Field Representative of the "National Committee to Abolish the HCUA" (NCAHUAC) namely that local abolition committees may identify and co-ordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAHUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

Various sources have advised during March, 1962, that Communist Party (CP) members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAHUAC during attendance at CP club meetings.

On June 6, 1962, the first source advised that the NYCAHUAC continues to function from its office at 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York.

- 13\* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York  
June 18, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bureau file 100-25688  
New York file 100-11342

Title                      Frank Joris Donner

Character                  Security Matter - C

Reference                  is made to the report of  
Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as  
above.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

NY T-1, NY T-2, NY T-3, NY T-5 and NY T-10 were in  
a position to furnish reliable information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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62 OCT 15 1973

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-25688)

DATE: 6/11/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342)

SUBJECT: FRANK JORIS DONNER  
SM - C  
(OO: NEW YORK)

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
6/20/63  
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☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name		
Aliases		
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Independent Socialist League
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)  Donner & Piel Room 1016 - 36 West 44th Street New York, New York		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____
Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address		

NOT RECORDED  
11 JUN 13 1963

SUBV. CONTROL

2-Bureau (100-25688)  
1-New York (100-11342)

5(3) JUN 21 1963

UNITED STATES

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Attorney, Donner & Piel room 1016 36 West 44th Street, New York, New York		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____		
Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address _____		

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SUBV CONTROL

2-Bureau (100-25688)  
1-New York (100-11342)  
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(3) REGISTERED MAIL

58 JUN 12 1963

# Donner Slams FBI For Campus Spies

By JUDITH WARREN

Managing Editor

The emergence of non-conformity and the realization of a need for reforms are responsible for the fear that permits and condones informers in universities, Frank J. Donner said Friday night when he presented "An Intelligent Students Guide to Informing and Surveillance on the Campus."

Donner, a constitutional lawyer and the author of "The Un-Americans," attacked the surveillance system as undermining our society, but noted that "universities are where the action is," which is why the system of informing is growing among youth on the campuses.

"AN ARMY of planted informers is indispensable to the F.B.I. for policing of speech, thought, and association," he said, for these crimes leave no trace, no physical fact of the wrong committed. So spies are needed to first establish and to prove the crime, he said.

The F.B.I. has a policy that the growing political awareness and concern of student groups is the product of a Communist plot, Donner said. "The campus is high on the list of F.B.I. investigation," he added, because they look at universities as becoming "hotbeds" of subversion.

Since the F.B.I. can't prove the fact of the crime without informers, they recruit "F.B.I. Scholarship Kids" to do the spying, because as students they can easily infiltrate campus groups, Donner explained.

Some students experienced considerable pressure to become informers, he noted. The pay for informing to the F.B.I. is good, he said, and a student's need for money is often a powerful inducement.

ANOTHER pressure Donner listed was the fear that comes when a student joins an organization and becomes afraid to face an obligation he can't meet, one that may blight his life. So he tells the F.B.I. and they say it would be patriotic for him to go back and report on the group's activities. "This need to purge is very common," he said, and also comes when a student leaves for ideological reasons.

The F.B.I. often tells parents that their children are associating with the wrong crowd and get the parents to apply pressure to turn the student into an informer, he went on. Other reasons students become spies include a need for revenge, the fulfillment of what the student regards as his political responsibility, or the possibility of adventure and excitement, Donner added.

"Today, all sorts of campus groups have complained of surveillance," including teaching associations, he said. However, students are not the only informers working on campuses, he added. Other agents operate from field offices and check on a university from time to time, and Red Squads, or local policing units, are often sent where the F.B.I. has neither the time nor the inclination to go.

THE JOB of these agents is facilitated by the cooperation they get from the school's administration, he said. He gave examples of two extremes, one where the school actively compiles secret files on the students and willingly reveals it. He cited Ohio State, which according to Donner, included such surveillance in its function and becomes "more concerned with the institution than with learning or education."

At the other end of the extreme, he said, is Cornell, where nothing more than a student's transcript is compiled, and released. Donner recommended this latter example as a model to help break up the surveillance system, for the clean up should start in the university. Most schools are in between these two examples, including the University of Wisconsin, which doesn't actively compile information of secret files, but gives out whatever information a file may contain, he continued.

Professors are often asked for information on their students, but many say they don't know anything, Donner added.

SUCH surveillance, both in universities and in society as a whole, is a "seriously distorted way of life," he said, because it perpetuates a hoax that the United States is constantly under a threat of subversion.

Donner called surveillance a "blight of democracy" in its effort to insure conformity, and cited infiltration as a clear interference of freedom of speech. When an informer contributes to a cause to keep up his front, he comes to share its values, Donner said; "the pose becomes a reality, and the informer betrays himself."

When a university cooperates with such surveillance and informing, he concluded, the search for truth becomes impossible, and relationships and trusts are poisoned at all levels. This flouts moral convictions," he said, "and the government that tolerates attempts to turn students into informers is propagating moral delinquency." The government is an accomplice in wrongdoing, since the informer must be active in the crime in order to uncover it, he said.

Donner's address was sponsored by the Contemporary Affairs Forum.

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# Alumnus Berates Donner; Decries Lecture As 'Vicious'

To the Editor:

Over the years students have been subjected to numerous Communist anti-American harangues, but rarely has a more vicious, distorted and falsified attack on a government agency, the FBI, occurred than the Socialist club-sponsored talk on July 26 by Frank Donner. If he is not a dyed-in-the wool Communist, the CP is missing a bet.

J. Edgar Hoover called the Communists "Masters of Deceit." Typical of this practice was the press notice that Donner "appeared as counsel before Senate investigating committees and the 'Supreme Court' but failed to state that he appeared as counsel for witnesses hailed before congressional committees investigating subversion, and that he appeared in the supreme court defending persons found guilty by lower courts of contempt of the congress.

HE WAS introduced as "former counsel for the United Electrical Workers." This renegade labor group was ousted from the AFL-CIO because of its domination by Communists.

As a former Army Intelligence officer and a loyal American, I have heard many talks on the campus, but never one so replete with exaggerations, distortions and deliberate falsehoods. Among them: "We are frightened by FBI investigations. They are aimed at terrorizing people, subjecting them to being victims of surveillance. It engages in sanctions against speech, plants informers among dissident groups and interrogates professors on the political views of their students. Campus radicals are stalked and their personal rights are invaded. The CIA engages students to spy on foreign students and to report

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"INFORMERS are recruited by threats of being blackmailed if they refuse to co-operate. Stool pigeons are planted among student groups and perpetuate hoaxes. It is easy to enroll a student informer because they need the money. Much of the income of Communists comes from the FBI. It employs illegal methods such as secretly entering residences without a search warrant to gather evidence of violations." (Any freshman knows that evidence obtained without a proper search warrant is rejected and thrown out of court.)

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college professor was fired because he refused to give names of students to the FBI. He lambasted Ohio State University because it bars Communists from speaking on its campus.

Though his own, and prior appearances of known Communists and their collaborators on our campus, sponsored by the Communist and subversive Labor Youth League, the Young Communists and the current Socialist club, belie the charge, he alleged that when "Communists appear on the campus, they are treated like poison." I ask, is there any reason why they, and any who advocate the overthrow of our form of government by infiltration, sabotage, subversion and violence, should be treated otherwise?

AS A LOYAL citizen, and one thoroughly familiar with hearings of both congressional committees investigating subversive activities, I am no advocate of conformity. However, when a speaker receives the courtesy to address students on our campus, may we not expect at least a fair degree of truth and honesty, rather than unadulterated propaganda and unwarranted attacks on one of the most efficient agencies of the government, a watchdog over our security?

Informed persons know that the Senate Internal Security Committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities for years have been, and still are, prime targets of Communists and their deluded fellow-travelers—people who swallow Communist distortions and falsehoods without taking time to ascertain their truth. Thousands of clergy and educators are among the latter.

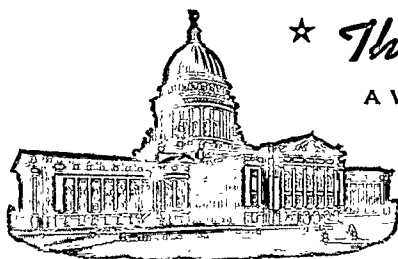
COMMUNISTS try to abolish

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ENC.

these congressional committees because, by exposing Communists and their collaborators, they seriously crimp Communist programs; which have the sole purpose of overthrowing constitutional, democratic governments to impose their deplorable form of enslavement on all nations of the world.

I ask, why does this "Contemporary Affairs Forum" and the Socialist Club" persist in operating under deceptive titles? Why haven't they the courage openly to admit their pro-Communist ideology, and call themselves "The Young Communists"? Without exception, all of their sponsored speakers for years have been known Communists or propagandists for communism.

Capt. Joseph W. Bollenbeck,  
USA-Ret.  
University Class of 1915.



# ★ The Military Order of the World Wars

A VIGILANT, COURAGEOUS, AGGRESSIVE, PATRIOTIC GROUP

Madison, Wisconsin

104 W. Gorham St., Madison 3, Wis.

2 August

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Candy

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I thought you would be interested in the surreptitious attack on the FBI by one Frank Donner at the University of Wisconsin on July 26 under auspices of the so-called "Socialist club" which I am convinced is a Communist cell on this campus, and my comments on his talk.

As a retired army officer and financially independent, I have been for 20 years intensely interested in attacks by Communists and their collaborators on our form of government and efforts to weaken our security status, so attend these appearances whenever I am aware of them and habitually give these characters a rough time, both by questions at their meeting and by an expose in the college paper of their pro-Communist activities, of which I have a fairly good record. *mkf*

Again accept my thanks for copies of your 1962 talk to the American Legion convention, which I have made excellent use of. Thus you will perhaps take some satisfaction in knowing you have at least one stout defender in Wisconsin.

Cordially,

*Joseph W. Bollenbeck*  
Joseph W. Bollenbeck, Capt. USA-Ret.  
Founder and PR Chairman.

Director J. Edgar Hoover, The FBI,  
The Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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12 AUG 5 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

EXP. PROC.  
38 AUG 5 1963

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ENCLOSURE



August 7, 1963

REC 7  
100-25688-34  
100-25688-134  
Captain Joseph W. Bollenbeck, USA (Retired)  
104 West Gorham Street  
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Captain:

I have received your letter of August 2nd, with enclosures, concerning the speech delivered by Frank Donner at the University of Wisconsin.

It was certainly good of you to furnish this information to me, and your statements of confidence in the work performed by this Bureau are indeed appreciated. My associates join me in expressing our thanks for putting Donner's comments in their correct perspective.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

- 1 - New York - Enclosures (2) (100-11342)  
1 - New Haven - Enclosures (2) (100-14085)  
1 - Milwaukee - Enclosures (3)

NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory information identifiable with Captain Bollenbeck with whom we have had prior correspondence, last outgoing 10-17-62, at which time he was sent 500 copies of the Director's address before the American Legion in Las Vegas on 10-9-62. Frank Joris Donner is on the Security Index of our New York Office. His book, "The Un-American calls for the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and claims that the FBI gives HCUA enthusiastic endorsement. Copy being sent to New York inasmuch as they have been the office of origin in prior investigations concerning Donner. Copy being sent to New Haven since Donner resides in the territory covered by that Division.

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7-31-63

FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-New)

SUBJECT: FRANK J. DONNER  
SM-C  
OO: NEW YORK

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b7C  
b7D

On 7-18-63 [redacted] at University of Wisconsin (UW), Madison, Wisconsin, advised that [redacted] (subject of security case, Milwaukee Office) had submitted a registration for an off-campus speaker to UW authorities seeking UW authority to present FRANK DONNER of New York to speak on the subject "Intelligent students guide to surveillance and informing on campus" on 7-26-63. The sponsoring UW student organization was identified as Contemporary Affairs Forum, a new student campus organization just approved by UW authorities on 5-28-63 prior to the scheduled meeting. [redacted] UW graduate student (subject of Milwaukee Office security file) furnished to [redacted] a mimeographed flyer entitled "Are you being followed" as a sample of the advertising used to publicize the meeting.

The original of this flyer is being furnished the Bureau as enclosure and a copy to New York.

Also enclosed for Bureau and New York are:

1. Clipping from "The Daily Cardinal" UW student campus organ, issue of 7-26-63 announcing the scheduled DONNER speech.
2. Two clippings from the Daily Cardinal of 7-30-63
  - (a) article by JUDITH WARREN describing DONNER's speech in which he attacks the FBI.
  - (b) Letter which appeared on page two from Captain JOSEPH BOLLENBECK who attempts to expose DONNER and his motives and describes DONNER's talk as "vicious"

2 - Bureau (Encl. 3) (RM)  
2 - New York (Encl. 3) (RM)  
3 - Milwaukee (100-New)  
AFB:cef  
(7)

57 AUG 22 1963

9 AUG 5 1963

SUBV. CONTROL

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-93

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S U R V E I L L A N C E     A N D     I N F O R M I N G  
O N  
C A M P U S

Mr. Donner, author of the Un-Americans, a critique of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, is a well-known Civil Liberties Lawyer.

Friday, July 26

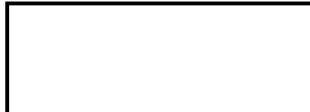
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230 Social Science Bldg.

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ENCLOSURE

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ENCLOSURE

UNCLASSIFIED REFERENCE:

BT: PC: IPTG: 3

1. SOURCE: THE DIRECTOR, THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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## AN INTELLIGENT STUDENT'S GUIDE TO SURVEILLANCE AND INFORMING ON CAMPUS

by Frank J. Donner

July 26, 1963

It is an important part of the American democratic political tradition that all citizens have rights of free speech and thought, the right to join organizations and "assemble peaceably", and the right to print or otherwise expound beliefs.

On the other hand, there have been occasions throughout our history when persons and governmental bodies have tried to circumscribe these rights and have suppressed opinions and legitimate activities. A fairly recent example was the "Palmer Raids" of 1920, where thousands of innocent people were arrested solely because of their political beliefs; many, in fact, did not even hold the beliefs they were accused of having. With the advent of the "Cold War" political restrictions have again been increased.

The widespread use of informers--principally by the Federal Bureau of Investigation--against legitimate political and organizational activities and the lack of proper safeguards against the harmful effects of informers are causes of serious concern. An organization which believes informers are present cannot get an injunction to stop the spying unless the particular spies can be identified.<sup>2</sup> J. Edgar Hoover, writing in Woman's Day called upon women to report any information they had on the political ideas of other women, to the FBI.<sup>3</sup>

While some informers are "patriotically" inclined, others make a handsome return on their spying. Louis Budenz, a widely used informer, received \$60,000 in witness fees and many additional thousands in book royalties, lectures, etc.<sup>4</sup> Matt Cvetic, another informer, received \$12,500 in movie rights alone; later he ended up in a mental hospital for "depressive reaction and alcoholic addition."<sup>5</sup>

Spying on citizens is also carried out by the FBI in violation of the law. A former FBI agent has substantiated previous suspicions that the FBI systematically employs illegal methods, such as wiretapping, electronic bugging, and secretly entering residences without a search warrant to gather evidence of violations.<sup>6</sup>

Protection against informers is inadequate. A man may be publicly defamed or lose his livelihood without even an opportunity to discover the origin of the charges against him. In court, the accused is often not able to face the informer who accused him.

Mr. Frank J. Donner will discuss the widespread use of informers on campus, the "FBI scholarships" given to students hired to report on other students, the ~~xxx~~ interrogation of professors on the political views of their students, and the cooperation of many university administration in surveillance and informing. Mr. Donner has appeared as counsel before the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and the Supreme Court. He is also author of The Un-Americans, a book on the House Committee.

1. D. N. Pritt, Spies and Informers in the Witness Box, Bernard House Ltd., London, 1958 p.53
2. Donnelly, Judicial Control of Informants, Spies, Stool Pigeons and Agents Provocateurs, Yale Law Journal, March, 1951
3. Woman's Day, Jan., 1953
4. F. J. Donner, The Informer, The Nation, April 10, 1954
5. Pritt, ibid. p. 54

### Additional References:

- I.F. Stone's Weekly, Nov. 7, 1955, Nov. 2 and 9, 1959  
L. Coser, The Age of the Informer, Dissent, Summer, 1954  
H. L. Packer, Ex-Communist Witnesses, Stanford U. Press, 1963  
F. J. Donner, The Un-Americans, Ballantine Books, 1960

These notes were prepared by members of the Contemporary Affairs Forum.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

In the Mailbox . . .

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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THE DAILY CARDINAL

MADISON, WISCONSIN

Date: 7/30/63

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: PENNY FARON

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: ~~NEW YORK~~  
ALBUQUERQUE

ENCLOSURE

100 - 25688-136

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**COMMUNISTS try to abolish**

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Capt. Joseph W. Bollenbeck,  
USA-Ret.  
University Class of 1915.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

a 1

THE DAILY CARDINAL

MADISON, WISCONSIN

Date: 7/30/63

Edition:

Author:

Editor: PENNY HARRON

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

100-25688-136  
ENCLOSURE



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The F.B.I. often tells parents that their children are associating with the wrong crowd and get the parents to apply pressure to turn the student into an informer, he went on. Other reasons students become spies include a need for revenge, the fulfillment of what the student regards as his political responsibility, or the possibility of adventure and excitement, Donner added.

"Today, all sorts of campus groups have complained of surveillance," including teaching associations, he said. However, students are not the only informers working on campuses, he added. Other agents operate from field offices and check on a university from time to time, and Red Squads, or local policing units, are often sent where the F.B.I. has neither the time nor the inclination to go.

**THE JOB** of these agents is facilitated by the cooperation they get from the school's administration, he said. He gave examples of two extremes, one where the school actively compiles secret files on the students and willingly reveals it. He cited Ohio State, which according to Donner, included such surveillance in its function and becomes "more concerned with the institution than with learning or education."

At the other end of the extreme, he said, is Cornell, where nothing more than a student's transcript is compiled, and released. Donner recommended this latter example as a model to help break up the surveillance system, for the clean up should start in the university. Most schools are in between these two examples, including the University of Wisconsin, which doesn't actively compile information of secret files, but gives out whatever information a file may contain, he continued.

Professors are often asked for information on their students, but many say they don't know anything, Donner added.

**SUCH** surveillance, both in universities and in society as a whole, is a "seriously distorted way of life," he said, because it perpetuates a hoax that the United States is constantly under a threat of subversion.

Donner called surveillance a "blight of democracy" in its effort to insure conformity, and cited infiltration as a clear interference of freedom of speech. When an informer contributes to a cause to keep up his front, he comes to share its values, Donner said; "the pose becomes a reality and the informer betrays himself."

When a university cooperates with such surveillance and informing, he concluded, the search for truth becomes impossible, and relationships and trusts are poisoned at all levels. This flouts moral convictions," he said, "and the government that tolerates attempts to turn students into informers is propagating moral delinquency." The government is an accomplice in wrongdoing, since the informer must be active in the crime in order to uncover it, he said.

Donner's address was sponsored by the Contemporary Affairs Forum.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Author Of 'Un-Americans' Will Speak On Informing

Frank J. Donner, a constitutional lawyer and author of the widely-heralded "The Un-Americans," will speak on campus tonight at 8 p.m. in 230 Social Sciences Building.

A PHI BETA Kappa graduate of the University, Donner is recognized as one of the country's foremost authorities on and opponents of the House Un-American Activities Committee. "The Un-Americans" is a summary and indictment of HUAC's activities.

Donner will speak on "An Intelligent Student's Guide to Informing and Surveillance on the

Campus." The speech will cover the practices of spying and informing on 'suspect' student groups and professors, as practiced by the FBI, state governments and private organizations with the cooperation of university administrations and the aid of students hired as FBI informers.

His talk is being sponsored by the Contemporary Affairs Forum.

IN WRITING "The Un-Americans," Donner was able to draw on years of experience in dealing with HUAC. His civil liberties work began early in the 1950's when he defended a group of United States staff members threatened with dismissal for pleading the Fifth Amendment before a Grand Jury.

Subsequently Donner appeared as counsel before HUAC and the Senate Internal Security Committee, as well as the Supreme Court, for whom he prepared a brief on HUAC in the 1955 Emspak case. This brief led to the writing of "The Un-Americans."

About the book, the Capital Times said, "The Un-Americans should be in the possession of every American able to read and willing to read more than the often biased accounts he may find in his newspaper."

OTHER PRAISE from diverse sources cited the book as, among other things, "a courageous service," (New York Post); "a brilliant case against HUAC," (New York Herald Tribune); and "a scholarly and just exposure," (C. Wright Mills).

Donner received his M.A. in American History from the University and his L.L.B. from Columbia Law School, where he was also a research fellow in American legal history.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A 1

THE DAILY CARDINAL

MADISON, WISCONSIN

Date: 7/26/63

Edition:

Author:

Editor: PENNY FARON

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

ENCLOSURE

100-25688-136

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-434917)

9/24/63

SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-14529) (RUC)

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR  
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

IS-C

(OO: NEW YORK)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Enclosed for the Bureau, New York and New Haven, respectively, is one copy of a speech made by FRANK DONNER at a Liberty Rally held in New York City in 6/63, under the auspices of the CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES.

[redacted] (reliable - protect identity) furnished a copy of this speech (original filed in PG 100-14732-1A19) to SA [redacted] on 9/11/63. This copy was given to informant on 9/9/63 by HERBERT K. KRANSDORF, Organizer, Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, who urged informant to study the speech so that he could have a better understanding of the injustices done to the Communist Party.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 3- Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1- 100-25688 - FRANK DONNER)
- 2- New York (100-145082) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1- 100-11342 - FRANK DONNER)
- 2- New Haven (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1- 100-14085 - FRANK DONNER)
- 3- Pittsburgh  
(1- 100-14732 - WPCLIC)  
(1- 100-12478 - FRANK DONNER)

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(10)

ENCLOSURE

100-25688-  
NOT RECORDED

29 OCT 1 1963

71 OCT 8 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-434917-385

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU: (1)  
Copy of speech made by FRANK  
DONNER at a Liberty Rally held  
in New York City, 6/63  
BUFILE: 100-434917  
PITTSBURGH FILE: 100-14529

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/32

REGISTERED-MAIL

ENCLOSURE

FRANK DONNER

Constitutional and Trade Union Lawyer - Speech, Liberty Rally, N.Y.

### LABOR AND THE McCARRAN ACT

In one of Shakespeare's sonnets he writes: "Bring not to a rainy night a windy morrow." If the McCarran Act of 1950 was a rainy night, then the Amendment of 1954 was assuredly a windy morrow. This 1954 statute, termed by some the most repressive and by others the most foolish law which has ever been passed in this country, contained a provision outlawing the Communist Party -- which has never been enforced -- as well as a provision directed at the Labor Movement.

Like the McCarran Act itself, the 1954 Communist Control Act is a monument to repression and to the frailty of our constitutional guarantees when demagoguery seizes control of our national life.

I do not want you to believe that the Communist Control Act of 1954 is the only part of the McCarran Act which is anti-labor. The Act as a whole has an inevitably destructive impact upon the freedom of the labor movement. The reason for this is simple: whenever anti-communism becomes the instrument of national policy, labor suffers. Redbaiting is a traditional weapon of union-busting employers. Anti-red hysteria has always been used to beat back unions at the bargaining table.

Who can doubt that the weakness of labor today is due, in part at least, to the political affidavits written into the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and to the CIO purges which deprived the labor movement of the unity of its most militant and forward-looking unions?

The fraudulent cry of "Communist" has weakened the labor movement in more ways than one. Every student of the labor movement knows that the worst repressions undertaken against rank and file democracy invariably assume the guise of a red purge. This is true not only of the AFL unions such as the Painters and the Machinists but also of the unions formerly in the CIO.

The McCarran Act as it was originally passed contained one provision which was directly aimed at barring militant trade unionists from organizing so-called defense facilities. These could be so broadly defined as to include any plant with defense contracts, which, of course, could cover almost every major industry in this country.

The Communist Control Act itself is remarkable for a number of reasons. It is the first statute directed exclusively at labor organizations ever passed in America. It is based on the premise that members of such organizations must be protected from their leaders, that unions are not democratic and their members cannot be trusted to decide for themselves who ought to lead their unions.

Second, the Communist Control Act extends still further the pattern of proscription contained in the Internal Security Act of 1950. This statute invented a new kind of tainted organization under a definition so broad as to make it possible for the government to outlaw any organization that it doesn't like.

A third remarkable aspect of the 1954 statute is its curious concentration. It was not primarily directed at the affiliated organizations, that is, organizations which belong to the AFL-CIO, but rather singled out non-affiliated or independent labor organizations. The purpose of this, of course, was to buy the support of the AFL-CIO and to pronounce a legislative death-sentence on all of the 1948 purge victims of the CIO. Another important striking aspect of the statute is the fact that it makes anti-communism a test of a union's right to survive. In short, the law contains a threat that unless a union is willing to lend itself to the purposes of the cold war, it faces the risk of outlawry under the Communist Control Act.

(more)

## BIG BUSINESS SPONSORSHIP

The anti-labor provisions of the 1954 statute were not spontaneously conceived. They were the result of a long-established campaign by powerful employer organizations in this country to use the issue of national security as a means of handcuffing labor. In the '40s the Chamber of Commerce formulated a blueprint for the use of the Communist issue as a means of shackling labor. In the '50s the National Industrial Conference Board held secret meetings on the subject of "Communism and Sabotage in Industries." Security became the new battlecry as FBI agents converted themselves into personnel officers and union-busters. Victor Reisel became the darling of a new movement to frighten the American people into a repudiation of the labor movement because it was a "security risk." Strikes were equated with sabotage. The legitimate redress of grievances were painted as a sinister effort by Communists to "create unrest." Once again, as in the twenties the efforts of working people to organize and bargain collectively were placed under a sinister cloud.

The first fruits of this anti-labor clamor was, of course, the Taft-Hartley Act and second was the Communist Control Act.

I do not propose here to discuss the technical provisions of the Communist Control Act itself. Enough to say that it authorizes the Subversive Activities Control Board on the basis of the most vague and incomprehensible standards to determine that a labor organization is "communist-infiltrated" simply because its policies have fallen into official disfavor.

The Act has already been applied to two unions: one proceeding against the U. E. was begun in 1955 and was ended in 1959 when the Government by its own motion requested that the proceeding be dismissed because it could not prove its case.

The second proceeding against the Mine-Mill & Smelter Workers Union has resulted in an order against that union which is now being appealed in the Federal Courts. It is hard to see how the constitutionality of this monstrous statute could conceivably be approved by the Courts.

Why was this law passed? I have already referred to the opportunism and demagoguery of its sponsors. But I would like to explore with you some of the so-called facts which were presented in legislative hearings which allegedly persuaded Congress to pass the law:

### PITTSBURGH HEARINGS ON McCARRAN ACT

In 1953, hearings on the proposed statute were held in Pittsburgh. The subject of its hearings was the U.E. Four discredited informers presented the testimony:

The most important of these witnesses was Joseph Mazzei who appeared and was sworn, together with his wife, Mary Mazzei, and their attorney and manager, Harry Alan Sherman. Mazzei testified that in the year 1948, the Communist Party made arrangements through him to photograph and map the city of Pittsburgh, including waterways, transportation, steel mills, hospitals, the airport and army base and the water-works (from an airplane). The witness identified the agency involved in the alleged mapping and sabotage as an affiliate of Artkino, a Film Agency for the Soviet Union.

The subcommittee attached great importance to Mazzei's testimony. In its report on the U.E. it referred to Mazzei's testimony about photographing and mapping of the Pittsburgh area by Communist agents (Report, p. VI).

Developments since the passage of the statute established that Mazzei is a pathological liar with sabotage and violence on the brain and that his testimony can only be regarded as a hoax. The developments establishing the fact that Mazzei is an inveterate perjurer were brought about by the Government itself.

Let's take a quick look at some of the performances of Mazzei which bothered the Government and made it concede that he was a liar. In June, 1953, Mazzei testified before the McCarthy

(more)

Committee that he had been told by a Communist that he had been selected to do a job on the liquidation of Senator Joseph McCarthy. He further testified that the same Communist, a man named Bortz, conducted Communist Party lessons to familiarize party members with the handling of firearms and instruct them in the construction of bombs. The Government conceded that this was "hog-wash."

Mazzei had pleaded guilty to charges of adultery and bastardy in the Pennsylvania State Court. He thereafter filed a petition to have the guilty plea set aside on the ground that he had made the plea at the instance of the FBI and that it was not true he was guilty. At the hearing on this petition an FBI agent denied Mazzei's claim under oath and his petition to change his plea of guilty was thrown out.

Another lie which Mazzei told and which bothered the Government was that a certain prominent Government official was a long time active Communist Party member.

In 1955 Mazzei again lied when he identified Mayor John J. Mullen of Clarton, Pa., National Director of the Political Action Committee of the Steel Workers as a member of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, Mazzei testified that he had met Mullen 10 or 15 times a year as a fellow Communist Party member. This was a lie, too.

Now, before I proceed further with Mazzei, remember that this was the man whose testimony was so important in convincing Congress that the Communist Control Act ought to be passed.

#### CHIEF WITNESSES PATHOLOGICAL LIARS

On July 2, 1956, Mazzei established himself as one of the champion liars of all times - a latter-day Munchausen, when he testified in the Florida Court. Let me quote a bit from the Government's confession about these lies. The Government had reason to doubt, among others, the following items in his testimony: (Summary of Testimony).

The second witness whose testimony before the subcommittee deals with the alleged industrial menace of the Reds, was Harry Alan Sherman. This witness solemnly assured the slack-jawed Senators that the UE, through its agents, employed or located in important defense production areas, could sabotage the city's war effort on a moment's notice. He noted the instance of a woman-- a Communist functionary -- who lived or was placed in a house near a generator plant of the Westinghouse Company in East Pittsburgh. According to Sherman, she resided close enough to the plant so as to be in a position to toss a hand-grenade into it and damage it.

Then the witness made a special bid for the "goose flesh" trade. He swore that all of the Westinghouse industries in the Turtle Creek Valley had been assigned for sabotage preparatory to military invasion of the United States in 1948 to one Steve Nelson with a staff of seventy saboteurs. He stated that the amount of information that could be obtained by subversive UE agents "should be a fatal blow to our chances of survival...". He gave as one instance an alleged occurrence in 1948 in which an individual was "disintegrated" in the General Division of the Westinghouse Company. He stated that the Communist Party took credit for this "disintegration." To all this he added the accusation that terror was practiced by the UE and that he himself had been threatened with extermination.

But this hardly exhausted the witness' store of blood-curdling information. He testified (Hearings, 86-27-82-86 ) that the Communists working through UE had a plan to seize control of the country. This plan involved a contemplated expenditure of \$50,000,000. in one year with the ultimate prospective of billions of dollars. After this great wealth had been used to condition the mass of the American people to accept a change, this grand plan for revolution contemplated a six months' continuous strike, conducted for political purposes against the will and desire of the membership.

(more)

## HORROR STORIES FOR 'EVIDENCE'

Sherman was particularly endlessly fertile in his horror stories. He regaled the Senators with a story of how Communists used the Headquarters of a Jewish Fraternal Order in Pittsburgh as a place for instruction in the making of bombs and hand-grenades and conducting target practice under the supervision of armed thugs.

All of these things, of course, were barefaced lies.

The third witness was Matthew Cvetic who also dwelt on the theme of sabotage. After the hearing, it was established by documentary evidence, that Cvetic was an emotionally disturbed man, a chronic alcoholic, who a prominent psychiatrist diagnosed as suffering from severe mental illness. The testimony of this psychopath also greatly impressed the Congressmen who were conducting legislative hearings to determine the need for the statute.

The fourth witness who appeared at this hearing was Mrs. Mary Mazzei. She was also involved in the frame-up of Mayor John J. Mullen, and is no more credible than her husband.

A second hearing conducted by the subcommittee on the problems dealt with in the Act, is called "Subversive Influence in the Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers Union." At these hearings the leading witness in support of the legislation was the late Manning Johnson, self-styled consultant and analyst (Hearings 37). This witness not only identified a certain number of individuals as Communists, but also testified that the Dining Car Employees' Union could serve as an instrumentality for subversive objectives (Hearings 43-44). This same Manning Johnson had previously testified that he would lie under oath if instructed to do so by agencies of the government. He committed perjury before the International Organization's Loyalty Board in a proceeding with respect to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. He identified Dr. Martin Luther King and other Negro leaders of the movement for integration as Communists or tools of the Communists.

Another witness who testified in the hearings which contributed to the legislative history of the Act was Harvey Matusow. His testimony included not only the identification of union leaders as Communists, but charges that the union and its officials served as an instrumentality for the operation of a Communist courier system. Matusow subsequently admitted that his testimony was fabricated.

Not to put too fine a point on it, this whole statute is a hoax from beginning to end, based on lies and passed not because there was a need to protect industries from "Reds" but rather to forge a new instrument of repression and union-busting.

Remember, this statute was not brought by the stork-- it was passed by Congress by the elected representatives of the people of the United States. Don't you agree that there is something wrong with the way we govern ourselves when our elected representatives feel free to believe liars as a pretext for violating the Constitution and their oath to preserve it?

Everyone realizes today that there is something wrong with our Congress. Look back upon the legislative history of the past 20 years and you will discover a startling and frightening fact--most of the legislative contributions of the Congress have been repressive and hostile to the rights of people. In contrast you can count on the fingers of one hand the positive contributions which the Congress has made to the improvement of the lives and welfare of our people.

If we are to make a new beginning; if we are to revive the organs of representative government to meet the needs of the people, then what better place to start than with the repeal of the McCarran Act?

#####



February 24, 1964

grr  
Honorable Charles A. Mosher  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Frank<sup>o</sup> Donner

I have received your letter of February 16th  
and have written directly to Mr.   
A copy of my communication to him is enclosed for your  
information.

b6  
b7c

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

1 - Cleveland - Enclosures (3)

MAILED 5

FEB 25 1964

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles indicate we have enjoyed cordial relations with  
Congressman Mosher. His office contacted Mr. DeLoach's  
Office on February 19th in relation to this communication.

JH:ple  
(5)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAR 2 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

EX 104

REC-133

100-25688-10

5 FEB 25 1964

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REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Scm  
B.E.

EX 104

REC-133

100-25688-138

February 24, 1964

b6  
b7c

Elyria, Ohio

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

page 2

The Honorable Charles A. Mosher has referred your letter of February 9th to me.

I can certainly understand your concern about the communist menace since this evil philosophy is one of the greatest threats to the future of our country. I have urged our citizens to educate themselves regarding the true nature of communism in order that they will be able to resist its eroding influences. At the same time, opposition to communism must be careful and constructive, and kept within the due process of law. It is not enough to be merely against communism. We must exhibit in positive ways the superiority of our form of government over any foreign ideology.

By Presidential Directive of September 6, 1939, the FBI was designated as the civilian intelligence agency primarily responsible for protecting the Nation's internal security. Since that time, there have been many prosecutions of Communist Party members under provisions of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950. The enclosed excerpt from our Annual Report for fiscal year 1963 discusses some of the more recent legal action against the Party and some of its functionaries. These prosecutions are based on evidence developed by this Bureau and the statement that communists receive financial backing from the FBI or me is too ridiculous to merit further comment.

MAILED 5

FEB 25 1964

COMM-FBI

1 - Cleveland

JH:mlk (6)

53 MAR 3 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 24 4 39 PM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM

*[Handwritten signatures and stamps]*

Mr.

I regret we cannot furnish you precise figures concerning the numerical strength of the Communist Party in the United States because of the confidential nature of FBI files pursuant to Department of Justice regulations. However, you may be interested in the estimates made by the communists themselves as indicated on page 5 of the excerpt mentioned above.

I am also sending other literature which I hope will be of interest to you and perhaps you will want to refer to my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." These were written to help Americans gain an insight into communist strategy and tactics, both in this country and abroad. Copies may be available at your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

b6  
b7c

**Enclosures (5)**

Counterintelligence Activities  
Communist Illusion And Democratic Reality  
"Faith In Freedom"  
The Communist Party Line  
One Nation's Response To Communism

NOTE: Mr.  cannot be identified in Bufiles. Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning this radio station. The Cleveland Office has submitted a tape of an interview involving Frank Donner who is on the security index of the New York Office and Dr. Michael Papp, head of the Institute of Soviet States, the John Carroll University, Ohio, Harv Morgan and Al James. This tape was made on January 11, 1963, and was to be broadcast at a later date.

CHARLES A. MOSHER  
13TH DISTRICT, OHIO  
COUNTIES  
ERIE HURON LORAIN SANDUSKY  
HOME: OBERLIN, OHIO

COMMITTEES  
SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SPACE SCIENCES  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE, RESEARCH  
AND DEVELOPMENT  
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OCEANOGRAPHY  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PANAMA CANAL

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
MRS. BETTE WELCH

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517 EAST 28TH STREET, LORAIN  
PHONE (216) CH 4-1572

February 19, 1964

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

We discussed the enclosed letter with the Bureau today concerning the issue of communism in this country, and it was suggested that we forward the letter to you for a detailed reply.

My constituent, Mr. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Elyria, Ohio, expresses grave concern over the activities of this group, and he is especially perturbed about a reference which was made about the FBI on a radio program called "Contact" which he discusses in the enclosed communication.

I shall appreciate a copy of your reply being forwarded to us for our information and thank you for your assistance to us in this matter which is sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely,

*Charles A. Mosher*  
Charles A. Mosher  
Representative to Congress

ENCLOSURE

REC-133

B FEB 20 1964

CORRESPONDENCE

H24

TRUE COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

February 9, 1964

Dear Congressman Mosher,

A Cleveland radio station (KYW) presents a program called "Contact" with Harv Morgan. This program has professional men and women who answer questions about the night's subject.

A short time ago the subject for the evening was "American Communism and the Bill of Rights." He had on two attorneys one of whom is a defense attorney for the Communist party in the United States. I believe one of the men was on long distance from Washington, D. C.

These attorneys said in answer to one question asked, that the purpose of communism in America is to change the people's thinking from capitalism to socialism but not to overthrow the government. They said that most American people don't really know the communist way of life and if they did, they would realize it is the better system. The attorneys seemed to be pulling the wool over our eyes -- which one woman mentioned when she called in. This I feel they succeeded in doing. A lot of the people who called seemed to be talking in favor of communism.

The attorneys twisted some of the other questions to suit themselves. Whenever they were in a jam the two men would say it has never been proven in court, or "take it to court and we will see how far it goes." The attorneys got very "loud" in answer to many questions.

They also stated that J. Edgar Hoover and a number of F.B.I. agents were financially backing the American Communist in our country. This seems hard to believe, but what if it is true?

Congressman Mosher, this whole matter has me quite concerned. How much more there is to Communism in America than what I know and heard that night! What in the world is this country coming to if communism is allowed to flourish and they succeed in changing capitalism to socialism or communism?

ENCLOSURE

100-25688-138

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When I heard Bishop Sheen talk about Communism, its dangers, and what will happen to our country if things don't change. I get quite worried and hope something is done before it is too late.

I read an article on the editorial page of the Elyria Chronicle-Telegram about communists seeking political jobs. This will surely put them in a good position to change the system in America.

I have heard many people say, and I have remarked myself, that our country is going more and more to the communist way of life all the time. If this is true, I certainly hope our government and the citizens wake up and fight communism in America and the world over.

Are there any statistics on the number of Communists in America? Can a communist be allowed to enter into politics? Can and will there be anything done to prevent communism from spreading in our country? It is a shame that our Bill of Rights can give the communists so much ground on which to stand. Couldn't the government have an organization to fight communism in America and keep the people on their guard. It should have opposition of some kind.

I would like to have some literature on communism if available. I am anxious to hear your remarks and comments

Thank you for your time and effort.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Elyria, Ohio

b6  
b7C

P.S. - Our wheat sale to Russia certainly has put our country on the spot.

February 9, 1964

FEB 12 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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2/24

overthrow the government. They said that most American people don't really know the Communist way of life and if they did, they would realize it is the better system. The attorneys seemed to be pulling the wool over our eyes — which one woman mentioned when she called in. This I feel they succeeded in doing. A lot of the people who called seemed to be talking in favor of Communism.

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3/

They also stated that J. Edgar Hoover and a number of F.B.I. agents were financially backing the American Communist in our country. This seems hard to believe, but what if it is true?

Congressman Noker, this whole matter has me quite concerned. How much more there is to Communism in America than what I know and heard that night! What in the world is this country coming to if Communism is allowed to flourish and they succeed in changing Capitalism to socialism or Communism?

When I hear Bishop Sheen talk about Communism, its dangers, and what will happen to our country if things don't change, I get quite worried and hope something is done before it is too late.

4/

I read an article on the editorial page of the Elyria Chronicle-Telegram about communists seeking political jobs. This will surely put them in a good position to change the system in America.

I have heard many people say, and I have remarked myself, that our country is going more and more to the Communist way of life all the time. If this is true, I certainly hope our government and the citizens wake up and fight Communism in America and the world over.

Are there any statistics on the number of Communists in America?  
Can a communist be allowed to enter into politics? Can and will

5/

There be anything done to prevent  
communism from spreading in our  
country? It is a shame that our  
Bill of Rights can give the Communists  
so much ground on which to stand.  
Couldn't the government have an  
organization to fight Communism in  
America and keep the people on  
their guard. It should have opposi-  
tion of some kind.

I would like to have some litera-  
ture on Communism if available. I am  
anxious to hear your remarks <sup>and</sup> comments.

Thank you for your time and effort  
Sincerely,

FBI

175X691

Inspector  
Kemper



Elyria, Ohio

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b7C

P.S. - Our wheat sale to Russia  
certainly has put our country on  
the spot.

lt 48 Muckles  
2/24/64  
JH: Pcu  
lt 48 Muckles  
3/24/64  
JH: Pcu  
2/24/64  
JH: Pcu

nm  
JH

3/13/64

Airtel

1 - Mr. Haack  
1 - Mr. Jones

To: SAC, New York (100-11342)

From: Director, FBI (100-25688)

Subject: FRANK J. BONNER  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurairtel 3/11/64.

With respect to book subject is reportedly writing which will be an attack on the FBI and its methods, the Bureau desires that you follow this matter closely with [redacted] and other sources for information concerning the proposed book. Endeavor to ascertain by whom book will be published and, if feasible, endeavor to obtain manuscript copy for submission to Bureau. Keep Bureau advised of pertinent developments regarding this matter.

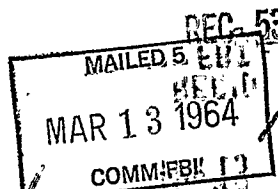
b7D

NOTE:

Subject's name included in Security Index. He is New York attorney who has history of legal activities on behalf of Communist Party (CP) and CP front organizations. He is author of book "The Un-Americans" which is highly critical of House Committee on Un-American Activities, FBI, and the use of informants. New York has advised that subject is writing a book on the "Ultra-Right" which will be an attack on the FBI.

WPJ:mlf  
(5)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



100-25688-139

15 MAR 16 1964

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

F B I

Date: 3/11/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-25688)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342)

SUBJECT: FRANK J. DONNER

SM-C

SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNISM

On 3/11/64, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that captioned subject is scheduled to speak at a Militant Labor Forum, sponsored by the New York Local-Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at 116 University Place, NYC, on 3/20/64.

It is noted that the 3/9/64 issue of "The Militant", page 2, column 1, sets forth the following information under the heading of Weekly Calendar:

"March 20 -- Attorney and Author FRANK DONNER discusses An Intelligent Student's Guide to Political Surveillance and Informing."

[redacted] advised that information had come to his attention recently at SWP Headquarters at NYC that DONNER had directed correspondence to an SWP member, [redacted] in charge of Militant Labor Forums, which included the following verbatim paragraph:

"---I am working on a book on the Ultra-right in the United States as well as an essay on surveillance and informing for publication sometime soon, I hope. I had a long article for The Nation on informing sometime ago."

Informant related that a leading SWP member at SWP headquarters commented that the above writing by DONNER will be an attack on the FBI and its methods.

3-Bureau (RM)

1-New York

1-New York (100-97078)

1-New York (424)

AJG:ckm

(7)

(INV) (413)

(SWP-NYL) (413)

b7D

12 MAR 13 1964

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M Per *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-11342

The above individual related that the revelation of DONNER's proposed writings, mentioned above, should not be made in connection with advertising his forthcoming Militant Labor Forum appearance, inasmuch as it might be embarrassing if "certain quarters" knew this information in advance.

According to the informant, DONNER is an attorney in NYC, who previously has appeared as counsel before the HCUA and who has previously written a book, "The Un-Americans", an attack on the HCUA.

~~SECURITY INDEX~~

DONNER is an SI subject of the NYO.

Above for information.

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/13/64

Subject's name included in the Security Index. He is New York Attorney who has represented Communist Party and front organizations. New York has been instructed to closely follow reported book which subject is writing, which will be critical of FBI and to furnish Bureau any pertinent details regarding this book.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

cl  
5/7

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-25688)

DATE: 4/30/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342) (-P-)

SUBJECT: FRANK J. DONNER  
SM-C  
(OO:NY)

ReBuairtel 3/13/64.

On 4/3/64, [redacted] advised he had no further information concerning subject's proposed new book. On 4/6/64, [redacted] advised that she had learned from [redacted] of the publishing firm of Marzani and Munsell that DONNER is working on a new publication. No further information was available from this source at this time.

The following NY informants were contacted in this matter but were unable to furnish any information. They have all been alerted in this regard.

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By separate communication the New Haven office has been requested to contact logical sources in this matter and to consider the utilization of a confidential source at the residence of the subject.

The NYO will continue efforts to obtain the necessary information as set out in referenced airtel.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

JJP:poc

(3)

74 MAY 8 1964

REC- 47.

100-25688-141

8 MAY 4 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/18/64	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/27/64-6/12/64
TITLE OF CASE  FRANK JORIS DONNER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY tcs
		CHARACTER OF CASE  DECLASSIFIED BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ ON 08-10-2009  SM-C	

b6  
b7CREFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 6/18/63 at NY  
and Buairtel, 3/13/64.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that Division.

On 5/4/64, [REDACTED] Panel Source of the Boston Office, advised that the subject spoke at the Community Church, Conservatory Auditorium, 31 Hemmingway Street, Boston, Mass., on 4/26/64.

Source said that the subject spoke on the US Congress, calling it the most backward and reactionary of the three arms of our Government. He stated that Congress wastes a lot of time by such devices as filling up the hours talking about the Communist

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APPROVED  COPIES MADE:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
④ - Bureau (100-25688) (RM) 1 - New Haven (100-14085) (INFO) (RM) 3 - New York (100-11342)	100-25688 142 REC-60 10 JUN 23 1964 SUB CONTROL 101
COPIES DESTROYED  62 OCT 15 1973	NOTATIONS  APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION DATE 7-26-77 GAT/AFK
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT AGENCY: RAO REQUEST RECD: DATE FWD: 7-7-64 HOW FWD: RS/O-6 BY: [REDACTED]	

64 JUL 7 1964

NY 100-11342

conspiracy, the saintliness of J. EDGAR HOOVER and the future of boiled peanuts. [redacted] stated he would sum up DONNER's talk as being highly critical of every phase of the administration of the Government.

~~(U)~~  
The pretext telephone call on 6/11/64 was conducted by SA [redacted] to the subject's place of employment utilizing the pretext of a personal friend desiring to send requested literature to the subject's residence.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

[redacted] ~~(U)~~

NY T-2

[CG 5824-S\*] ~~(U)~~

NY T-3

[redacted]

NY T-4

[redacted]

NY T-5

[redacted]

NY T-6

[redacted]

NY T-7

[redacted]

NY T-8

[redacted]

NY T-9

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(U)~~

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b7C  
b7D

NY 100-11342

NY T-10  
Former PSI

NY T-11  
Former

NY T-12

NY T-13

NY T-14

NY T-15  
Observation Post, Manhattan  
Center. NYC. SAS JOHN C. SEATON,  
E. MARK

NISWANDER

NY T-16

NY T-17

NY T-18

NY T-19

NY T-20

NY T-21

NY 100-11342-465

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Used To Characterize The MLF

- C -  
COVER PAGE

NY 100-11342

NY T-22

NY 100-13644-9135

The following New York informants as mentioned in the details were contacted concerning the subject, with negative results:

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LEADS:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue efforts to obtain information as requested in referenced airtel.

NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_.
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ because (state reason) \_\_\_\_\_  
it contains information from current NY and other office informants, NY T-1 to 22. If this fact were made known it could be injurious to the national defense.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.  
☒ Subject was not ~~interviewed~~ interviewed because (state reason) \_\_\_\_\_  
of his employment as an attorney and his hostility displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959.
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) \_\_\_\_\_  
of subject's long history of legal activities on behalf of the CP and CP front organizations which are believed to depict him as an individual who would be against the interests of the US in the event of an emergency.
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.  
☒ Subject's activities ☐ do ☒ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 08-10-2009

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

6/18/64

Office: New York, New York

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b7c

Field Office File #: 100-11342

Bureau File #: 100-25688

Title:

FRANK JORIS DONNER

SECURITY MATTER-C

Character:

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 30 Dock Rd., Village Creek, South Norwalk, Conn. and is self-employed as an attorney at 36 W. 44th St., NYC. Subject attended sponsors meeting of the NCRMA and was elected to the Executive Committee May, 1963; attended a rally sponsored by the CCCL, June, 1963; as of September, 1963, reportedly a sponsor of the NCAHUAC; as of February, 1964, a member of the Advisory Committee of the NYCAHUAC; spoke at a meeting of the WCAHUAC, February, 1964; spoke at the Militant Labor Forum, March, 1964.

(U)

- P -

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDResidence and Employment

By means of a suitable pretext on June 11, 1964 by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it was ascertained that the subject is self-employed as an attorney at 36 West 44th Street, Room 1016, and resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut.

II. ACTIVITIES IN FURTHERANCE OF THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT

On June 5, 1963, NY T-1 advised that a "Sponsors Meeting" of the National Committee to Repeal the Mc Carran Act (NCRMA), sponsored by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill

(U)

NY 100-11342

(U)

of Rights (CCDBR) was held on May 18, 1963 in Chicago. NY T-1 said that FRANK DONNER of New York City (NYC) was in attendance at this meeting and was elected to the Executive Committee.

Characterizations of the NCRMA and the CCDBR are contained in the Appendix Section hereto.

On September 27, 1963, NY T-2 furnished information which reflected that the subject was a member of the National Executive Committee of the NCRMA. (U)

On June 13, 1963, NY T-3 advised that a Liberty Rally sponsored by the Citizens Committee For Constitutional Liberties (CCCL) was held at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and 8th Avenue, NYC, on June 6, 1963, from 8:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. NY T-3 said the subject was one of the principal speakers at this rally.

A characterization of the CCCL is contained in the Appendix Section hereto.

The following sources advised on the dates indicated that the subject spoke at the Liberty Rally, sponsored by the CCCL on June 6, 1963 at Manhattan Center, NYC:

NY T-4	June 17, 1963
NY T-5	June 7, 1963
NY T-6	June 14, 1963
NY T-7	June 19, 1964
NY T-8	June 11, 1963
NY T-9	June 7, 1963



NY 100-11342

NY T-10	June 7, 1963
NY T-11	June 11, 1963
NY T-12	June 10, 1963
NY T-13	June 11, 1963

On June 12, 1963, NY T-14 advised that the subject spoke at the Liberty Rally sponsored by the CCCL held on June 6, 1963 at Manhattan Center, NYC. NY T-14 said the subject claimed he was a member of the "UE" union and that the United States Government was attacking the unions through the Mc Carran Act and the Anti-Communist Act. He said if one does not belong to the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organization or similar union the government likes, then they consider it Communist inspired.

On June 6, 1963, NY T-15 advised that the subject spoke at the Liberty Rally, sponsored by the CCCL on June 6, 1963, held at Manhattan Center, NYC. NY T-15 said the subject stated, among other things, that the Communist Control Act is a "hoax" and it was passed because of the testimony of a bunch of liars. Subject termed the Act a "repressive law" directed against labor unions.

On September 17, 1963, NY T-16 furnished information which reflected that the subject as of September 1, 1963 was a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish The House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC).

A characterization of the NCAHUAC is contained in the Appendix Section hereto.

On February 27, 1964, NY T-17 advised that the subject, as of that date, was a current member of the Advisory Committee of the New York Council to Abolish The House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC).

A characterization of the NYCAHUAC is contained in the Appendix Section hereto.

NY 100-11342

On February 3, 1964, NY T-18 advised that on February 1, 1964 at 9:00 p.m., a meeting of the Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee (WACAHUAC) was held at 700 Lambertson Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland. NY T-18 said the subject was the principal speaker at this meeting and was paid \$35.00.

A characterization of the WACAHUAC is contained in the Appendix Section hereto.

On February 3, 1964, NY T-19 advised that the subject was the speaker at a meeting of the WACAHUAC held on February 1, 1964 at 700 Lambertson Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland.

On March 24, 1964, NY T-20 advised that FRANK DONNER was the speaker at the Militant Labor Forum held on March 20, 1964 at 116 University Place, NYC.

NY T-21 advised on April 8, 1964 that the Militant Labor Forum is the name given to the weekly public forums sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party in NYC, except during the summer months.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On April 10, 1964, NY T-22 advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The person to be subpoenaed is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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NY 100-11342

A characterization of the UERMWA is contained in the Appendix Section hereto.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain New York informants who are acquainted with various phases of Communist Party activity in the New York area advised in June, 1964 that the subject is not known to them or that they are not acquainted with his current activities.

1.

APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND  
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Suite 424, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised in July, 1960, that RICHARD CRILEY, a member of the Civil Liberties Commission, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, met with key leaders of the CP of Illinois and discussed with them the fact that the climate in the United States on civil liberties and civil rights issues had changed to the extent that it was now possible to proceed to form a new organization with broad mass support. By doing so, CRILEY believed that people who would not associate themselves with an organization of narrow scope would join a civil liberties and civil rights organization built around a broader issue such as the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). The CP leaders, after receiving assurance from CRILEY that any new organization that might evolve would protect the Party interests, authorized CRILEY to proceed with his plan to form a broader organization.

A second source advised on October 31, 1960, that a new organization known as the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights was formally launched in Chicago at a meeting on October 26, 1960. The stated primary purpose of the new organization was to seek the abolition of the HCUA, and RICHARD CRILEY was named as its Executive Secretary, after having been the guiding force in arranging the October 26, 1960, meeting.

The first source, in October, 1960, advised that CRILEY again attended a meeting of the Illinois District CP leadership on October 28, 1960, at which time he reported on the organizational meeting of the CCDBR. CRILEY stated that the immediate purpose of his organization is to obtain mass support to abolish the HCUA, but the new Committee purposes will also include defense of Smith Act and Taft-Hartley victims. He said there will be no formal affiliation with any national organization of similar purpose; however, the CCDBR, according to CRILEY, will consult and have liaison with national organizations having the same purpose. According to the source, the CP leadership agreed with the general direction of the CCDBR as outlined by CRILEY.

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A third source advised on May 3, 1962, that the CCDER continues to adhere to the same aims and purposes and operates under the same leadership.

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APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR  
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties:

"CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL  
LIBERTIES (NEW YORK CITY)

- "1. 'On the basis of its investigations and hearings to date, the committee concludes that the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and a coordinating and organizing group in support thereof, titled the "Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties," are Communist fronts. Created, dominated, and controlled by members and officials of the Communist Party, the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties were organized as propaganda devices for the conduct of "mass activity" in support of the avowed objective of "reversal or nonapplication" of the Supreme Court decisions of June 5, 1961, which upheld the constitutionality of the registration and disclosure provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as applied to the Communist Party, and the Smith Act membership clause making punishable active and purposive membership in the Communist Party.'

'\* \* \* The long-range objective of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties is to serve as the vehicle for concealed Communist participation in, and direction of, propaganda and agitational activities aimed to nullify the Internal Security and Smith Acts.'

NY 65-14342

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APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR  
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

'\* \* \* Committee investigation disclosed that the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties was formed on or about June 12, 1961 \* \* \*.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report and Hearings on Manipulation of Public Opinion by Organizations Under Concealed Control of the Communist Party (National Assembly for Democratic Rights and Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties), House Report 1282, Part 1, October 2 and 3, 1961, pp. 137, 143 and 144.)"

NY- 100 -11342

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH  
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5.)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.



NY- 100 -11342

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL  
THE MC CARRAN ACT (1963)

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (NCRMA) maintains headquarters in Room 318, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised in May, 1963, that the NCRMA is the outgrowth of an Ad Hoc Committee of Initiators, headed by Professor CYLDE MILLER of New York, who solicited signatures to a Petition to the President of the United States in 1962 which called for the repeal of the McCarran Act. The NCRMA held its formation meeting at Chicago on May 18, 1963; the stated purpose of the Committee is to seek repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as amended. As of July, 1963, its purpose is the same.

Source advised that the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR), and its Executive Secretary RICHARD CRILEY, gave full support to organizing this new organization. At the May 18, 1963, formation meeting Reverend WILLIAM T. BAIRD, Executive Director of the CCDBR, was named National Administrator of the NCRMA.

A second source advised in April and May, 1963, that the Communist Party, USA (CP) interest in NCRMA has been to give it full support and approval and it takes the position that the Committee composition must be extremely broad and the Party's direct influence must be kept to a minimum. The CP believes the new Committee will serve its purpose in fighting the McCarran Act alone and the CP has everything to gain by taking this position. The CP reportedly has agreed to make funds available to this Committee.

A third source advised as of May, 1963, that RICHARD CRILEY was then a member of the CP.

CLYDE MILLER, according to the "Daily Worker", issue of March 5, 1941, was a signer of a statement to the President defending the CP.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast communist daily newspaper which ceased publication January 13, 1958.

LOLA BELLE HOLMES, a CP member from August, 1957 to January, 1963, advised in August, 1958, that Reverend BAIRD stated that he was a "religious communist" and that he believed there was a relationship between science, religion and communism and was attempting to prove his theory.

1.

APPENDIX

NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH  
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
COMMITTEE

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

A second source advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a Communist Party member as of September, 1952.

A third source furnished on September 14, 1961, a copy of resolutions of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) which were adopted by the NYCAHUAC. One such resolution affirmed the intention to continue to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and to continue its efforts to broaden the participation in this fight. Another resolution accepted as a modus vivendi the suggestion of the Field Representative of the "National Committee to Abolish the HCUA" (NCAHUAC) namely that local abolition committees may identify and co-ordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAHUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

Various sources have advised during March, 1962, that Communist Party (CP) members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAHUAC during attendance at CP club meetings.

On May 6, 1963, the first source advised that the NYCAHUAC continues to function from its office at 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York.

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND  
MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The "UE Shop Steward Guide," United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Publication Number 212, Sixth Edition, 1952, discloses on pages 32-34, "UE - the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America was established in 1936 at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly thereafter, a large group of American Federation of Labor machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE).

"The UE is known as an 'International Union' because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract."

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, relates the following information. In 1944 the Committee on Un-American Activities found the "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)" to be one of the unions which was described as having "communist leadership... strongly entrenched." The "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was listed as one of the unions which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because of its communist domination.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate," on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest communist controlled unions in America."

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 22, 1963, edition of "UE News," official organ of UE.

NY- 100 -11342

1.

APPENDIX

WASHINGTON AREA COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF  
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

A source advised during June-August, 1961, that the Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee (WACAHUAC) was founded at a public meeting in Washington, D.C. on June 8, 1961, to campaign for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA); an election of officers was held on June 23, 1961, with Selma Rein being elected as Secretary; Rein has been in control of the organization since that time; Rein does not mind if individuals connected in the past with organizations cited publicly as being communist dominated or controlled work with WACAHUAC, provided they are not publicly identified in this regard. The organization's policy statement, as rewritten by Joseph Forer, was accepted by the WACAHUAC Executive Board in August, 1961.

On September 12, 1962, a second source advised that WACAHUAC is affiliated with the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. This source, on May 4, 1963, advised the WACAHUAC is still in existence.

Selma Rein was identified by a third source on January 21, 1954, as a then current Communist Party (CP) member. On February 28, 1957, she appeared before the HCUA and refused to answer questions concerning past or present CP membership.

Joseph Forer is one of the attorneys who has represented the CP, United States of America, before the United States Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court. In September, 1959, a fourth source advised that a member of the National Committee of the CP, United States of America, had recently referred to Forer as "one of the most important communists in Washington, D.C."

The National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee is described in the Appendix.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

June 18, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bureau file 100-25688  
New York file 100-11342

Title Frank Joris Donner

Character Security Matter-C

Reference is made to the report of Special  
Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at  
New York.

b6  
b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

COPIES DESTROYED

62 OCT 15 1973

NY 100-11342

FRANK JONES DONNER

Residence 30 Dock Road, South Norwalk,  
Conn.

Employment 36 West 44th Street, NYC  
(Attorney)

Race White  
Sex Male  
Age 42  
Born 2/27/11  
Height 5'11"  
Weight 200  
Hair Brown, receding hair

Subject has been member of the Communist Party (CP)  
and National Lawyers Guild.

Displayed much hostility during appearances  
before House Committee of Un-American Activities (HCUA)  
in 1956 and 1959.

100-25688-  
NOT RECORDED  
10 MAY 19 1964

F211  
58 MAY 21 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

CF  
10-12TO: SAC, NEW YORK (Your file 100-11342 DATE: 10-1-64)FROM: Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-25688-143)Room No. 827 R13SUBJECT: FRANK J. DONNER  
SM - C☐ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☐Letter submitted 9/28/64☒ 2. DATE☐ airtel☐ report☒ letter☐ letterhead memo☐ submitted☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted

Reporting employee \_\_\_\_\_

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal☐ Inquiry☐ Investigation☐ Prosecution☐ 5. Submit☐ airtel☐ letter☐ report☐ letterhead memo

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 2 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-25688) DATE: 7/30/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342) (-P-)

SUBJECT: FRANK J. DONNER  
SM-C  
(OO:NY)

ReNYlet 4/30/64 and NYrep 6/18/64.

The New Haven office, by letter dated 6/26/64, advised of a survey conducted in the area of the subject's residence. They determined that the utilization of an anonymous source would be impractical due to the physical set up of the residence and the fact that SI and RI subjects of the NH office also reside in the immediate area.

The NY office has conducted a survey at the office of the subject with negative results to date. Additional attempts will be made to ascertain if this avenue of approach is practical.

On 7/23/64 a pretext call to the subject's office by SA [redacted] determined from DONNER's secretary that subject is writing a book about the FBI and that it is not in publication as yet. The secretary further advised that she was not aware of the name of the publisher. The pretext utilized was that of an editor of a weekly newsletter from Madison, Wisconsin.

b6  
b7c

Further investigation will be conducted in this matter and the Bureau will be promptly advised of results.

② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

JJP:poc  
(3)

REC-60

100-25688-143

EX 109

16 JUL 31 1964

66 AUG 6 1964

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SUBV. CONTROL





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-25688

DATE: 9/30/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342)

SUBJECT:

FRANK JORIS DONNER  
SM-C  
(OO: NEW YORK)

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
10/7/64  
Hw

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name	
Aliases	
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race _____ Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth _____	Place of Birth _____
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Add: Attorney, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York	
Key Facility Data	
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____	
Interested Agencies _____	
Residence Address _____	

2-Bureau  
1-New York  
JJP:jad  
6 OCT 9 1964  
REGISTERED MAIL

100-25688-  
NOT RECORDED

11 OCT 2

SUBV CONTROL

(3) 6 OCT 19 1964